

MARTIAL'S APOPHORETA: AN INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

by

T. J. LEARY

Thesis submitted

in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Classics at the

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

AUGUST 1993

Supervisor: Professor K. M. Coleman

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ABSTRACT

No commentary on Martial Book 14 has appeared since that of Ludwig Friedländer (1886). Since Friedländer dealt with Martial's entire corpus, his introductory remarks to Book 14 were necessarily subordinated to his wider concerns, while his commentary is very superficial. This work hopes, therefore, to fill a significant gap.

The thesis comprises three main parts. The introduction discusses the Roman Saturnalia, concentrating on its origins, the way it was celebrated, and the licence, lotteries and gifts which characterised these celebrations. Further discussion deals with the book's title and the order of the epigrams it contains. Another section defends Friedländer's dating of Book 14 against a recent challenge (Roger A. Pitcher, Hermes 113(1985), pp. 330-339). A study of Martial's use of metre and a survey of the textual tradition along with a new text conclude this part of the thesis.

The second and most extensive part of the thesis comprises the commentary. In addition to the Realien which form the subject-matter of the epigrams, the commentary deals with matters of Latinity, literary style, text and metre. It includes a translation, which is intended to be elucidatory rather than literary.

The thesis concludes with a three-part appendix devoted to rare usages and hapax legomena, illustrations, and textual concordances.

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T. J. Leary
Hampton
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Note

All epigrams are numbered according to the text provided (which agrees for the most part with the OCT). The numbering of other editors is given in the concordances, and is only cited in the introduction and commentary to eliminate confusion or to make particular points. The reader is asked to note that in such cases [L] designates Lindsay, [S] Schneidewin.

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1) Bibliography

To save space in the commentary, full bibliographical details of works cited more than once are given here. For further bibliographies, see R. Helm, Lustrum 1(1956), pp.299 ff., G.W.M.Harrison, Lustrum 18(1975) pp.300 ff., M.Schanz and C. Hosius, Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian⁴, Munich 1935, vol.2 p.548, Sullivan pp.328 ff. and the Martial commentaries listed below.

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(Commentaries on Classical authors are referred to in the text merely by the name of the work or author and that of the commentator, and are not included here. For ancient sources, I have used the abbreviations of the OLD and of L-S-J, except where I think these unrecognisably cryptic. Periodical titles are abbreviated as in L'Année philologique.)

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ii) The Roman Saturnalia

(In general, see R.E. IIA.201-211 s.v. Saturnalia (+ bibliography) [Nilsson], D-S IV(2) pp.1080 ff. s.v. Saturnalia [J-A.Hild], Roscher IV.437 ff. s.v. Saturnus [Wissowa], A.Stuiber RLAC 10 pp.685 ff. s.v. Geschenk. See also comm. at Mart. 14.1.)

A) Origins

According to Varro (L. 6.22), 'Saturnalia dicta ab Saturno, quod eo die feriae eius'.

As to early Roman Saturn worship, little is known. Since the Saturnalia features in Numa's calendar (17th December) between the festivals of the Consualia (deities of the corn bin) and Opalia (deities of plenty?) and his name was popularly derived from satus (Varro L. 5.64), his function might have been agricultural.

Given that devotees sacrificed to him in Greek fashion, i.e. with bared heads (Festus 325M), Saturn may have been a Greek import. Certainly the Romans themselves later thought so in identifying him with Kronos (see section C below; cf. West at Hsd Theog. 137) who, fleeing Zeus' vengeance, took refuge in and civilised Italy:

primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympe
arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul adeptis.
is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.

(Verg A. 8.319 ff.).

Whatever the truth behind Saturn's introduction to Italy, it was certainly early: he had a Capitoline temple before Rome's foundation: Macr. 1.7.24, Dionys. 1.34.4, Festus 322M.

A temple to Saturn was built by either Tullius Hostilius or Tarquinius

Superbus (Macr. 1.8.1), its dedication being attributed to the dictator T.Larcus in 253 B.C. (Varro ap. Macr. loc. cit.), or to Aulus Sempronius and M.Minucius, consuls in 257 B.C. (Livy 2.21.1 'aedes Saturno dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies', Dionys. 6.1.4), or to Postumus Cominius, consul in 261 B.C. and 253 B.C. (by senatorial vote). Ruins of a later temple, built by L.Munatius Plancus in 42 B.C., are still visible on the clivus Capitolinus. For full discussion, see Platner-Ashby, pp.463 ff.

The Saturnalian celebrations of historical times could well date from the consultation of the Sibylline books in 217 B.C. following the disaster at Trasimene in the Second Punic War: 'postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum - et eum lectum senatores straverunt - et convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus' (Livy 22.1.19).

B) Celebration

The Saturnalia was initially confined to a single day (Macr. 1.10.2): 'apud maiores nostros Saturnalia die uno finiebatur, qui erat a.d. quartum decimum kalendas Ianuarias (19 Dec.)'. Thus it remained for religious purposes: Festus 325M dies. In later years, however, popular celebrations were extended. Macrobius explains as follows (ibid.): 'sed postquam C.Caesar huic mensi duos addixit dies, sexto decimo (17 Dec.) coepta celebrari. ea re factum est ut, cum vulgus ignoraret certum Saturnaliorum diem, nonnullique a C.Caesare inserto die et alii vetere more celebrarent, plures dies Saturnalia numerarentur; licet et apud veteres opinio fuerit septem diebus peragi Saturnalia, si opinio vocanda

est, quae idoneis firmatur auctoribus'.

So far as is known, the Saturnalia in Republican times lasted three days (17-19 Dec.): Macr. 1.10.23, and the extra days were dated 'secundis Saturnalibus' and 'tertiis Saturnalibus' (18-19 Dec.: Cic. Att. 13.52.1).

By the early Empire, the Saturnalia was the main holiday of the year (Balsdon LL. p.124), and the number of celebratory days increased. Thanks to Augustus, the law-courts adjourned for at least three days (Macr. 1.10.4). Caligula extended the holidays to five (Dio Cass. 59.6.4, Suet. Calig. 17.2; cf. Mart. 4.88.2, 14.79.2, 142.1). Seven day celebrations are sometimes mentioned (Mart. 14.72.2, Lucian Sat. 2, Macr. quoted above), the extra two days being devoted possibly to the festival's commercial aspects: see below on sigillaria in section D.

Official celebration took the form of a sacrificium publicum (δημοτελεῖς...ἐορτάς τε καὶ θυσίας: Dionys. 6.1.4) and a convivium publicum before the temple of Saturn, at which senators abandoned the toga for the synthesis (so Marquardt Sty. III p.587; cf. Mart. 14.1.1) and from which the people departed crying 'Io Saturnalia' (Marquardt ibid.). Starting wars and punishing criminals at this time was considered sinful (Macr. 1.10.1).

Private celebration, at any rate by school-masters and children, was facilitated by school holidays (Pliny Ep. 8.7.1, Mart. 5.84). One bathed in the morning to save time later (Tert. Apol. 42.4). A pig was sacrificed (cf. Hor. Carm. 3.17.14 ff. 'cras Genium mero/ curabis et porco bimestri/ cum famulis operum solutis', Mart. 14.71 porcus and the boar's head of the early English Christmas; see Marquardt Sty. III p.587, Baker p.14); presents were exchanged: see section D below, and

various forms of entertainment and amusement prevailed: section C below.

Very similar to the Saturnalia was the January kalends a few days later (Miles p.167, Balsdon LL, p.126), when the new year was celebrated and the new consuls were inducted. Masters and slaves gambled and drank together as at the Saturnalia: see section C below. The populace received financial distributions, chariot races were held, and so on (see e.g. Libanius 1.393 ff. Foerster).

Although Saturnalian celebrations account in many ways for later Christmas practices (see in greater detail sections C and D), the Saturnalia was not entirely replaced by Christmas until late antiquity (R.E. IIA 210.7 ff. s.v. Saturnalia [Nilsson]). Indeed, initially it attracted Christian censure (from the 2nd Century onwards: Balsdon LL, p.125).

C) Licence

The most noticeable characteristic of the Roman Saturnalia was the licence it allowed,² the festival being popularly perceived, like the Kronia, as an attempted recreation of the Golden Age, a time of freedom and happiness for all under the rule of the kind and just Saturn/Kronos. In fact the traditional seasonal freedoms could well have originated from the lectisternium decreed by the Sibylline priests in 217 B.C. (see section A above, D-S IV(2) p.1081 col. 1 s.v. Saturnalia [J-A Hild]).

In sartorial acknowledgement of this licence, the hot uncomfortable toga was exchanged for the synthesis (Mart. 14.1.1 n., 141), while men adopted the pilleum, a cap which usually indicated a slave's newly acquired freedom (cf. Mart. 14.1.2 n.).

During the Saturnalia, slaves acquired partial parity with and even

superiority over their masters,³ being exempt from punishment.⁴

Festivities were helped by general drunkenness (Mart. 14.1.9, 11.15.5, Stat. Silv. 1.6.5, 95 f.), and gambling, usually forbidden by the aediles, was allowed (Mart. 14.1.3, 5.84). Dirty jokes abounded: Adams p. 7.

Presiding over the festivities was a Saturnalian king, appointed by dicing or lot (Tac. Ann. 13.15). His command was law, whether to dance naked, sing, suffer a dunking in icy water or pick up a flute girl (Lucian Sat. 4; cf. Arrian diss. Epict. 1.25.8).

While the origins of this Saturnalian king are debated,⁵ in Classical times he was no more than a lord of misrule, to be compared with the merry monarchs of Christmas and Twelfth Night.⁶

The general mood of the season is well summarised by Lucian, who has his Saturnalian law-giver, Kronosolon, legislate (Sat. 13) μηδένα μηδέν μήτε ἀγοραῖον μήτε ἴδιον πράττειν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐορτῆς ἢ ὅσα ἐς παιδίαν καὶ τρυφήν καὶ θυμηδίαν ὄψοποιοὶ μόνοι καὶ περματοῦργοι ἐνεργοὶ ἔστωσαν. xiv. At the end of the festival the normal order was restored.

D) Lotteries and gifts

Also characteristic of the Saturnalia, as of the modern Christmas, was the giving of presents, catalogues of which are common in Roman literature.⁷ Such giving was governed by Roman conventions of patronage (see Sullivan, p.13 f.) and close attention was paid, albeit often humorously, to the value of presents. Lucian (Sat. 14-16) has Kronosolon legislate as to the presents a rich or poor man might give. M. says (8.71.3) that the value of a present should remain constant or increase from year to year and complains (12.81) that a certain Umber gave more

expensive gifts before becoming rich than after. Catullus (14) and, following him, Statius (Silv. 4.9) adopt indignant tones in deploring inadequate presents. Presumably the cheap gifts described in Book 14 (see Intro. 'Order' below) might have been given by clients, the expensive by patrons (but see Mart. 14.1.6 n.). While it was common to send verses to accompany gifts (cf. e.g. Mart. 7.46), M. suggests at Mart. 13.3.5 (cf. at Mart. 14.1.6) that a poor man might send the verses of Book 13 instead of gifts. This is not to be taken seriously, however: M. was playing the poor poet (cf. Harrison p.44 n.2; Sullivan, p.92, tentatively attributes the idea of sending verses instead of gifts to the epigrammatist Julius Leonidas of Alexandria).²⁹

Given that the Saturnalia catered traditionally for men and children,³⁰ it is interesting that certain of the gifts in Book 14 are clearly suited to women.³¹ Mohler raises the possibility that these gifts might have been presented to men initially, who then passed them on to their women folk (p.256). In the same way, gifts suited to children would have been passed on by the adults who received them (cf. Mart. 14.54 and see at Mart. 14.19.2).³²

It is more likely, however, that the traditional conventions governing the giving of gifts at the Saturnalia had been relaxed by M's day, and possibly even earlier (see Ovid Ars 1.407 with Hollis), and that women were given Saturnalian presents directly. At any rate, it is difficult otherwise to explain such epigrams as Mart. 14.60 lomentum (addressed to someone with a stretch-marked stomach), or Mart. 14.151 zona (addressed to someone capable of falling pregnant).

Amongst those gifts traditionally reserved for children were the sigillaria which, together with cerei, were the oldest established

Saturnalian presents.¹² Candles originally symbolised the return of the sun after mid-winter and are a common feature of primitive mid-winter festivals.¹³ Sigillaria served as dolls.¹⁴

When not intended as children's playthings, sigillaria, often representing divinities, were placed in household shrines (see R.E. IIA 2278.52 ff. s.v. sigillum [Hug]). According to Balsdon (LL, p.124), these devotional figures find their equivalent today in Christmas cards rather than presents, although the Christmas card as we know it is comparatively recent (Baker p.42) and the devotional aspect of these gifts must be stressed if Balsdon's comparison is to stand. In Antiquity sigillaria could be bought in a special market, apparently also called the sigillaria¹⁵ and held first in the colonnade of the Argonauts, and later in that of Trajan's baths. Comparison has been made with the market held in Rome today in the Piazza Navona, where clay figures of the Holy Family can be bought before Christmas to inhabit the praesepe manufactured at home with cardboard and moss.¹⁶

The sigillaria which survive today are mostly earthenware, and sometimes bronze; but gold, silver, ivory, lead, marble and other stone, wood and gypsum were also used. Sigillaria might also have been edible (cf. possibly Mart. 14.69). Human sacrifice has been associated with the Saturnalia (in connection with the Saturnalian king, thought by some to have been slaughtered, in the early days of the festival's existence, after a period of unrestrained licence),¹⁷ but suggestions that wax sigilla were available as substitutes for sacrificial victims in later times (cf. Macr. 1.11.48) have been contested.¹⁸ Clay sigilla would have been formed in a mould (Blümner Tech. II pp.126 ff.), and might have been painted (with Blümner, cf. Th. Panofka, Terracotten des

königlichen Museums zu Berlin, Berlin Staatl. Mus. 1842, Taf. 19.1, 31.1).

The official Saturnalia in Domitian's time probably lasted five days, although reference is sometimes made to a seven day holiday (see section B above). According to Praetextatus in Macrobius, the additional days arose thanks to the sale of sigillaria: 'sed sigillariorum adiecta celebritas in septem dies discursum publicum et laetitiam religionis extendit' (1.10.24); cf. 1.11.50: '...ideo Saturnalibus talium commercium (i.e. the sale of sigillaria) coepta celebritas septem occupat dies, quos tantum feriatis facit esse, non festos omnes'. It seems that these extra two days might have been called sigillaria as well: Aus. 112.32 Prete 'sacra sigillorum nomine dicta colunt'.

At these markets it would appear that one could also buy gifts other than statuettes: dig. 32.102.1 'lances...quas de sigillaribus emi'; cf. Ovid Ars 1.407 f., Coleman at Stat. Silv. 4.9.23-45. One gave money to children or people of inferior status for this purpose: at Suet. Claud. 5, Tiberius does so as an insult to Claudius; cf. S.H.A. Caracalla 1.8 where gratia probably refers to money.

Whether during the Saturnalia or not, one could distribute gifts in various ways. For example, they could be sent, as at Stat. Silv. 4.9 or Catul. 14. Otherwise they might be distributed as apophoreta (for the term, see Intro. 'Title' below) in a dinner party lottery - as is the case with the gifts described in Book 14: note 1.5 'alternas...sortes';¹⁹ cf. Mart. 13.5.2 'cum tibi sorte datur'.

In the context of Book 14, the dinner party lottery best compared is that at Petr. 56.7²⁰ '...cum pittacia in scypho circumferri coeperunt, puerque super hoc positus officium apophoreta recitavit'. Here the

pittacia bear legends which refer to punning substitutes for the gifts actually given. These puns are discussed by Ullman, who compares the gifts indicated with the apophoreta in Book 14 and who notes (p.351) that the legends, when taken at face value (and not as puns) often also indicate apophoreta as described by M.

For dinner-time lotteries, note possibly also Suet. Aug. 75 'festos et sollemnes dies profusissime, nonnumquam tantum ioculariter celebrabat. Saturnalibus, et si quando alias libuisset, modo munera dividebat, vestem et aurum et argentum, modo nummos omnis notae, etiam veteres regios ac peregrinos, interdum nihil praeter cilicia et spongas et rutubula et forpices atque alia id genus titulis obscuris et ambiguis. solebat et inaequalissimarum rerum sortes et aversas tabularum picturas in convivio venditare incertoque casu spem mercantium vel frustrari vel explere, ita ut per singulos lectos licitatio fieret et seu iactura seu lucrum communicaretur.'; cf. S.H.A. Elagabalus 22.1 'sortes sane convivales scriptas in cochlearibus habuit tales, ut alius exiret decem camelos, alius decem muscas, alius decem libras auri, alius decem plumbi, alius decem strutiones, alius decem ova pullina, ut vere sortes essent et fata temptarentur'.²¹

Gifts or tokens entitling the recipient to gifts could also be distributed at shows; see Mart. 8.78.7 ff., where falling tokens indicate presents (line 9): edible birds (lines 11-12) and animals assigned to the arena (line 10; I take spectatas to refer to their being exhibited first, and then set to fight: cf. Friedländer SG. II p.62). For the sparsio²² at Domitian's Saturnalian show, see Stat. Silv. 1.6.9 ff. Note too 28 ff., Suet. Dom. 4.5 'congiarium populo nummorum trecentorum ter dedit atque inter spectacula muneris largissimum epulum

Septimontiali¹ sacrorum quidem senatui equitique panariis, plebei sportellis cum obsonio distributis initium vescendi primus fecit; dieque proximo omne genus rerum missilia sparsit, et quia pars maior intra popularia deciderat, quinquagenas tesseras in singulos cuneos equestris ac senatorii ordinis pronuntiavit'.

Notes

1) Contrast Catul. 14.14-15, however.

2) Cf. Sen. Ep. 18.1 'December est mensis cum maxime civitas sudet. ius luxuriae publicae datum est', Lucian Sat. 5.

3) For the licence allowed slaves, see Acc. ap. Macr. 1.7.37, Macr. 1.10.22, 1.11.1, 1.12.7, Athen. 639b, Dio Cass. 60.19.3, Lucian Sat. 5, Hor. Serm. 2.7.4 f. 'age, libertate Decembri...utere', Mart. 14.79.

The partial exchange of rôles by master and slave is mentioned at Mart. 14.1.1-2 (see comm. ad loc.), Sen. Ep. 47.14, Macr. 1.24.22 f. Not all masters entered into the spirit of things: the younger Pliny withdrew to a secluded part of his villa so as not to be disturbed by servile revelry (Ep. 2.17.24).

Baker records (pp. 7-8) that while the ashen faggot burned at Christmas-tide (cf. the Yule log, for which see n.13 below), rank was forgotten on many Devon farms, where master and servant enjoyed the warmth together and cider flowed freely; cf. below for Saturnalian drunkenness. The custom of the ashen faggot is still observed in certain public houses in Devon.

4) Cf. Mart. 14.79; see R.E. IIA.201-211 s.v. Saturnalia [Nilsson]. Note generally Macr. 1.7.26.

5) See section D and n.17 below; contrast W. Warde Fowler, The Religious

Experience of the Roman People, London 1922, p.107.

6) For whom, see Brand pp.266 ff.; cf. Baker p.45, who additionally draws attention to the enthronement of a boy bishop at Christmas by the mediaeval church (p.11). Note too p.44: the author of 'Round our coal-fire, or Christmas Entertainments' writes 'The next game is questions and commands, when the commander may oblige his subjects to answer any lawful question, and then make the same obey him instantly, under the penalty of being smutted (i.e. having his face blacked) or applying such forfeits as may be laid on the aggressor'.

7) Cf. Stat. Silv. 4.9, Suet. Aug. 75, Mart. Book 14 (well discussed by Mohler), 4.46, 88, 5.18, 7.53.3 ff., 10.17(16). Mart. Book 13 deals with edible gifts (cf. poems 69-72, 219, 223 in Book 14).

That the modern Christmas present derives from the gifts of the Magi is probably an invention of the early church, anxious to dissociate itself from the pagan survivals in Christian ceremony; cf. Baker p.43.

8) Lucian states that gifts sent by a messenger should be itemised on a kind of delivery slip so that the bearers might not be open to suspicion of helping themselves en route (Sat. 15). These delivery slips were possibly the origin of poems accompanying gifts.

9) D-S IV(1) p.1081 col. 2 s.v. Saturnalia [J-A.Hild]. Women traditionally received gifts at the Matronalia; cf. Mart. 5.84.10 f., Suet. Vesp. 19.1. M., whose birthday fell on this day, jokes at 10.24.3 that women send him gifts on the Matronalia, contrary to convention.

10) e.g. those at 24, 28, 66, 134, 149. No doubt the different kinds of wool at 154-8 were of principal interest to females.

11) Mohler suggests (p.257) that the children's gifts in Book 14 were jokes intended to raise a laugh.

12) For sigillaria, cf. Sen. Ep. 12.3, Macr. 1.11.49, S.H.A. Carac. 1.8, Hadrian 17.3 'saturnalicia et sigillaricia frequenter amicis inopinantibus misit, et ipse ab his libenter accepit et alia invicem dedit'. Note also Mart. 14.170-182 and see Marquardt Stv. III p.587 f.

As for cerei, note Mart. 14.39-44 (lighting equipment); cf. Macr. 1.7.33, 1.11.49.

13) Compare the yule log of later times. Baker records (pp.12-13) that at one time specially large candles were manufactured for the Christmas season (and were sometimes sent by grocers to customers as seasonal gifts), to be lighted by the head of the family and ritually extinguished later. If a candle went out accidentally, bad luck inevitably followed. At St John's College, Oxford, a large candle is burned each evening at high table for all the twelve days of Christmas. Candles remain common Christmas tree decorations.

14) For sigillaria as children's playthings, cf. Macr. 1.11.1 'sigillaria quae lusum reptanti ad huc infantiae oscillis fictilibus praebent', Sen. Ep. 12.3; see R.E. IIA.2279.5 ff. s.v. Sigillum [Hug], Marquardt Prl. p.641, Balsdon LL. p.91. Of the sigilla in Mart. 14 (= 170-172, 177-9, 181-2), 182 sigillum gibberi fictile is possibly a toy, although see n. ad loc.

15) Suet. Nero 28.2, Juv. 6.154 Schol. The sigillaria also gave its name to a street: Gel. 2.3.5, 5.4.1.

16) Miles p.113, Balsdon LL. p.124. A remarkable display of praesepe can be found in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino: see Ros Belford et al., Italy: the Rough Guide, London 1990, p.720.

17) see Frazer II pp.310 ff., with whom compare Stefan Weinstock, 'Saturnalien und Neujahrsfest in den Märtyrechten', in Mullus:

Festschrift Theodor Klauser, edd. Alfred Stuiber and Alfred Hermann, JAC Ergänzungsband 1, Münster 1964, pp.391-400. Baker suggests (p.12) that 'smoking the fool' in the Haxey Hood Game is possibly reminiscent of human sacrifice.

18) Chr. Augustus Lobeck, Aglaophamus II, Regimontii Prussorum: Borntraeger 1829, p.1081.

19) Given synthesibus (Mart. 14.1.1) and convivae (Mart. 14.1.6), it seems reasonable to suppose that a meal is envisaged.

20) Which was probably not at the Saturnalia: Smith at Petr. 58.2. Trimalchio distributed apophoreta three times at his cena, in addition at 40.5 (food used to stuff a pig) and 60.4 (golden wreaths and unguents lowered from the ceiling). Usually apophoreta were distributed only once, at the end of the meal, but Trimalchio's cena was particularly sumptuous.

21) For other dinner time gifts, cf. Athen. 128-130, 147f, S.H.A. Verus 5.2-5. Caligula gave money at a dinner party 'in apophoretis': Suet. Calig. 55.2.

22) On sparsiones, see Howell p.131, Friedländer SG. II p.15.

iii) The title

MSS evidence cited by Friedländer (p.17) makes it quite plain that the Apophoreta was M's intended title. The numbers 13 and 14 were not assigned to the Xenia¹ and Apophoreta in Antiquity, but derive from a later edition of M's collected works. It was not until at least a couple of years after the publication of these books (following Friedländer's chronology: see pp.50 ff.; cf. Intro. 'Date') that M. began to number volumes (see e.g. 3.1.3,² 5.2.5-6, 6.1.1, 8 praef., 10.2.1). Nevertheless, for ease of reference, the Xenia and Apophoreta will be referred to as Books 13 and 14 respectively in the present work.

For a full discussion of the term apophoreta, see A. Stuijber in JAC 3(1960), pp.155-9, s.v. apophoreton. Initially employed specifically of food given to guests to take home from dinner and birthday parties, wedding feasts and the like, or to the populace at public thanksgivings and triumphs, apophoreta came to apply by natural extension to non-edible gifts associated with dinners (it is therefore used of tableware given by Cleopatra: Athen. 6.229c),³ and hence to gifts of all kinds, whether given at meal-times or not.⁴

The word is used frequently of gifts made during festivals (Stuijber op. cit. p.156). It is used of Saturnalia gifts in particular at Suet. Vesp. 19.1 'dabat sicut Saturnalibus viris apophoreta, ita per Kal. Mart. feminis'.

In later times, the term came to be employed for handouts by electoral candidates (Symm. Ep. 5.56, 9.118). It was used too in early Christian contexts, e.g. of alms, communion bread and relics.

Notes

- 1) Cf. Mart. 13.3.1 for the title of the Xenia.
- 2) He does not in fact assign volume numbers here but merely invites comparison between Book 3 and its predecessor.
- 3) L-S-J cites only this instance of the word in Greek. This is striking, given the word's frequency in Latin. For discussion, see Stuiber op. cit. p.155, who goes on to cite Greek inscriptional occurrences where the word refers to food left over from feasts and to meat distributed from sacrifices.

For other non-edible gifts associated with dinners, see Mart. 14.93-121, 201-223 nn. below.

- 4) The earliest surviving usages of the word for gifts made at shows seem to be in Symmachus (ob. A.D. 420): see Stuiber op. cit. p.156. Earlier currency of such usage seems, however, likely.

iv) The date of Martial's Apophoreta

Friedländer's chronology for M's life and work, presented in his edition, has with reason become standard, although slight modifications are possible: after Sp. (dated by Titus' show) came the Xenia and Apophoreta, which Friedländer assigns to the years 84/5, asserting (probably wrongly¹) that both might have been intended for a single year. The other books then followed at fairly regular intervals.

The evidence which has been cited for the Apophoreta's date follows with discussion.

A) A satisfactory terminus post quem can be drawn from Mart. 14.170:

signum Victoriae aureum:
haec illi sine sorte datur, cui nomina Rhenus
vera dedit. deciens adde Falerna, puer.

This epigram refers to Domitian's assumption of the title 'Germanicus' as a result of his successes against the Chatti (see comm. ad loc. and at Mart. 14.34 for full explanation and details; cf. also Mart. 13.4 tus). The Apophoreta cannot have been written before the assumption of this title.

Friedländer thinks that Domitian took the title 'Germanicus' after the conclusion of the Chattan war, which he dates to 84. Contrast Citroni², p.11, who puts Domitian's adoption of the title between 9 June and 28 August 83, referring to T.V. Buttrey, Documentary Evidence for the Chronology of the Flavian Titulature, Meisenheim am Glan 1980, pp.52 ff. Buttrey bases his arguments on the evidence of inscriptions, papyri and coins. He decides that the inscriptional evidence is of little help save to show that Domitian did not yet have the title 'Germanicus' on 9 June 83 (CIL XVI.29), that the papyri probably indicate the title's

assumption in 83, and that on the basis of an Alexandrian coin (Dattari 618), Domitian must have been proclaimed Germanicus before 28 August 83. Compare J.K. Evans, 'The dating of Domitian's war against the Chatti again', *Historia* 24(1975), pp.121-4. Evans gives a date of 85 for the end of the war, when 'Germania capta' first appears on coins, but argues that Domitian assumed the title 'Germanicus' before the end of the war, in 83, using the same sort of evidence as Buttrey (p.123). Compare too P.A. Holder, who draws attention (<LCM 2(1977), p.151) to an aureus bearing the legend IMP CAES DOMITIAN AUG GERMANICUS (HCC 1, Dom. 13, pl. 49), which he dates between 14 September 83 and the end of the year.

It is reasonable to suppose that a Saturnalian book like Mart. 14 would have had a December publication date. If Mart. 14 was written after the third quarter of 83, as Buttrey's dates suggest, it is unlikely to have been ready for publication in time for that December. The earliest reasonable date for the publication of M's Apophoreta is December 84.²

B) Establishing a terminus ante quem is a little more complex:

Friedländer and others cite Mart. 14.34:

falx
pax me certa ducis placidos curvavit in usus.
agricolae nunc sum, militis ante fui.

Friedländer takes this to refer to the conclusion of peace after the Chatten war. If he is indeed right, a terminus ante quem is assured: once the Dacian wars (A.D. 86-9) had begun, M. would not have been able to publish such a poem celebrating peace.

Friedländer's chronology has, however, been recently attacked by Roger A. Pitcher, 'The dating of Martial Books XIII and XIV', Hermes

113(1985), pp.330-339, who follows A.Dau, De M.Valerii Martialis libellorum ratione temporibusque (diss.), Rostock 1887.

Like Friedländer, Pitcher would accept (p.335) that Mart. 14.170, referring to the Chattan war, gives a definite terminus post quem, if not for the book, at least for the poem. But he argues (p.334) that Mart. 14.34 refers to the peace after the Sarmatian war (which had ended by January 93), claiming that 'pax certa' would suit that peace better than the Chattan. This argument does not follow, however, as M. was writing without historical hindsight and was being flattering at the time.

Pitcher also argues (loc. cit.) that falx is used of Dacian and Getic weaponry, claiming this as grounds for a date after the Dacian war. The idea is interesting, but cannot stand: beating swords into ploughshares is proverbial: see comm. ad loc., noting especially Virgil, G. 1.508, who also uses falx.

Finally, Pitcher's observation (loc. cit.) that '...it seems too much of a coincidence that in Books VIII and IX there is a concentration of poems which deal with the outbreak of peace' is neither here nor there (see Citroni² p.11 n.13, referring to Friedländer's revue of Dau in BPhW 38(1889), pp.1201-1207).

Pitcher meets better success when challenging Friedländer's citation as evidence of Mart. 14.124 toga (q.v. ad loc. for full discussion). This epigram refers to Domitian's edict governing the wearing of togas at spectacles, but, since the date of this is unknown, any attempt at dating from the epigram must be founded upon 'magno qui dedit astra patri'. Pitcher notes that astra dare cannot mean 'deify', as at Mart. 5.65.1, since Vespasian was deified by Titus (in 80), not by Domitian.

Rather, the words must refer in some way to Vespasian's cult. If they refer to Domitian's completion of the Temple of Vespasian, as Friedländer thinks and as Pitcher observes they might, we are still at a loss: this temple cannot be precisely dated (at any rate no date is given by either Platner-Ashby or Nash). The temple of the Flavian gens was completed in about 95 (Scott p.66), but this date is too late even for Pitcher (p.334).

Friedländer is therefore without justification in citing Mart. 14.124 as evidence, and Pitcher is right to show him up; but he does not advance his own argument in the process.

Pitcher's main argument in trying to date Books 13 and 14 is based on M's vocabulary when referring to the Emperor, with particular regard to Mart. 14.1.2 'nostrum...Iovem'. By examining other references to the Emperor in early books, he sets out to show '...that Martial would not have used this precise flattery of Domitian at so early a period as 84 or 85' (p.330). He finds no satisfactorily exact parallels, and concludes that 'The 'nostrum Iovem' of XIV.1...is probably a later development in Martial's dealings with the emperor.' (p.333). The evidence deployed by Pitcher³ seems a tenuous basis for such a conclusion,⁴ especially when its ramifications are explored.

Pitcher's thesis asks how such 'anachronisms' as 'nostrum...Iovem' came about. His answer is this, that M. wrote the epigrams of the Apophoreta over a number of years '...and eventually decided to gather them together and publish them,...' (p.335). Two arguments scotch this theory conclusively: Firstly, if M. published the Apophoreta after Book 1, it would have been included in the numerical sequence of his work. We know that this was not the case (see Intro. 'Title'). Secondly, the

Apophoreta is a collection of poems which is very tightly organised, describing expensive and cheap gifts in alternation (see Intro. 'Order' below). This cannot have resulted from a haphazard whim to publish the bits and pieces which M. had lying around.

Notes

1) Citroni is reasonable in thinking that the differences between books suggest different years (see Citroni² pp.11-12). The success of the Xenia, to do with food, probably prompted M. to be more ambitious the following year in dealing with a variety of gifts.

2) A.Martin, 'Quand Martial publiat-il ses Apophoreta?', Acta Class. Debrec. 16(1980), pp.61 ff. (see Citroni² p.11 n.13), points out that the Apophoreta must have been published after Domitian introduced the purple faction to the circus (Mart. 14.55), an action which is recorded by Dio Cassius (67.4.4). Dio implies that this postdates Domitian's assumption of the title censor perpetuus, which has been dated to October-November 85 (Buttrey op. cit. Table 3 and notes), and so Martin thinks that the Apophoreta cannot have appeared before that December. But at this point in Dio, so far as can be deduced from the epitomator Xiphilinus, the chronology is not strictly ordered: see Citroni loc. cit. What is more, the period October-December 85 would surely have been inadequate for processing a publication, while a date of December 86 is impossible if Friedländer's 'terminus ante quem' is right (see below).

3) He uses the same argument with regard to deus at Mart. 13.74: '... would... Martial have called Domitian a god so early in his career as a publishing poet?' (p.335).

4) Cf. K.M.Coleman, currently working on Sp., in her discussion of the 'Rhinceros in Flavian Rome' (C.A.S.A. conference, Grahamstown, South Africa, Jan. 1989; cf. Acta Classica 32(1989) pp.136-7). She suggests (Conference Paper p.15) that the rhinceros of Sp. 9 and 22 is just possibly that referred to in Mart. 14.52, which had been seen recently (nuper) in the amphitheatre under Domitian (Mart. 14.52.1): hence the self-echo (Mart. 14.52.2 'cui pila taurus erat'; cf. Sp. 9.4 'cui pila taurus erat', 22.6) recalls the same rhinceros' earlier exploits. If she is right, the improbability of a date much later than 84 is enhanced: the longer the time span, the less likely the rhinceros is to have survived that period in captivity.

v) The order of the epigrams

The order of epigrams is discussed both by Birt and by Friedländer. My arrangement mostly agrees with those of these scholars.

The inevitable starting point is Mart. 14.1.5 'divitis alternas et pauperis accipe sortes'. This indicates the alternation of epigrams describing gifts given by a rich man (R) and those describing a poor man's gifts (P), these gifts being distributed by lottery (see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D). I have assumed the alternation of R and P gifts to be strictly applied throughout, i.e. R P R P. Following this assumption, where a poem's content gives no indication of a gift's value, tentative evaluation 'by position' is possible (e.g. with Mart. 14.16-17, 22-3, 28-9), but certainty is elusive. When the values of objects are known, however, textual reordering is on occasion justified, e.g. at Mart. 14.69-70, where transposition restores the RP sequence. Readers are asked always to view the evaluations set out below in the light of the commentary.

Within this R P alternation, pairing is evident, an R gift with a P one. The principles underlying pairing are set out by Friedländer (p.295) and Birt (pp.73 ff.). A few examples will therefore suffice here:

i) Identical gifts, R of valuable material, P not, are matched: e.g. Mart. 14.12 ivory box (R); 13 wooden box (P).

ii) Different gifts but with some common element are matched or alternated: e.g. Mart. 14.197 dwarf mules (R); 198 Gallic puppy (P) (where both gifts are animals; cf. 199 horse; 200 greyhound).

iii) A P gift sometimes complements an R gift: e.g. Mart. 14.122 ring (R); 123 ring case (P) (see further at Mart. 14.31. le. n.).

Such varietas in pairing criteria is important in that it adds to the appeal necessary in a book like 14 if the reader is to be engaged throughout (cf. Lausberg p.453). M. cannot employ the devices used elsewhere to engage readers, e.g. variation of poem length (see Kay p.6, Lausberg p.52), nor does he vary metre as much (see Intro. 'Metre') as he does in other books (Kay p.6; with Kay generally, cf. Howell p.12).

As well as being paired, epigrams are also grouped according to subject matter, e.g. writing equipment (Mart. 14.3-11), drinking and other vessels (Mart. 14.93-121).

Given this arrangement by pairing and grouping, textual difficulties are again sometimes made evident:

In some cases it is clear that one of a pair has fallen out - for instance where a P occurs without a corresponding R in an otherwise clear sequence, e.g. Mart. 14.168-9, 176.

At Mart. 14.61-2 (describing lanterns) it is possible that a complete pair has found itself separated from a group of pairs on a similar theme (compare the lamps and candles alternated at Mart. 14.39-44).

On occasion, the principles governing the ordering of epigrams can be used to correct the mistakes of earlier editors, e.g. Schneidewin at Mart. 14.135-142 (see below): in engineering an RP sequence, Schneidewin pairs epigrams which do not match.

These prefatory remarks having been made, the following is the suggested order of epigrams in Book 14:

1-2 = introductory

R

P

3 pugillares citrei

4 quinquiplices

5 pugillares eborei

6 triplices

7 pugillares membranei

8&9 Vitelliani

(probable pair (see comm.), although respective values are not discernible except by position and likelihood (see comm.), in which case 7 = R; 8&9 = P)

10 chartae maiores

11 chartae epistolares

12 loculi eborei

13 loculi lignei

14 tali eborei

15 tesserae

16 turricula

17 tabula lusoria

(probable pair, although respective values hard to tell except by position, in which case 16 = R; 17 = P - despite being bigger than a dice box and double sided)

18 calculi

19 nuces

20 theca libraria

21 graphiarium

22 dentiscalpium

23 auriscalpium

(definite pair, although respective values hard to tell except by position, in which case 22 = R (despite being feather, not mastick); 23 = P)

24 acus aurea

25 pectines

26 crines

27 sapo

28 umbella29 causea

(definite pair, although respective values hard to tell except by position, in which case 28 = R; 29 = P)

30 venabula31 culter venatorius32 parazonium33 pugio34 falx35 securicula

-

36 ferramenta tonsoria

(probably P - see comm. Friedländer suggests transposing 51 strigiles here, but see below)

37 scrinium38 fascēs calamorum39 lucerna cubicularis40 cicendela41 lucerna polymyxos42 cereus43 candelabrum Corinthium44 candelabrum ligneum45 pila paganica46 pila trigonalis

(definite pair, although respective values hard to tell except by position, in which case 45 = R (note possibly that feathers are valuable: Mart. 14.161); 46 = P)

47 follis48 harpasta

(definite pair, although respective values hard to tell except by position, in which case 47 = R; 48 = P)

49 halteres50 galericulum

51 - 56: discussed below.

57 myrobalanum58 aphronitrum59 opobalsama60 lomentum61 lanterna cornea62 lanterna de vesica63 tibiae64 fistula65 soleae lanatae66 mamillare

67 muscarium pavoninum68 muscarium bubulum70[L] Priapus siligineus69[L] copta Rhodiaca

(Both are edibles and therefore definitely paired. 69 [L] copta Rhodiaca is R by position and yet is suitable only for servile consumption. 70 [L] Priapus siligineus is P by position, yet is a delicacy. Transposition is clearly required.)

71 porcus72 botulus73 psittacus74 corvus75 luscinia76 pica77 cavea eborea78 narthecium

(probable pair (both ivory containers), although it is hard to tell respective values, except by position, in which case 77 = R; 78 = P)

79 flagra80 ferulae81 pera82 scopae83 scalptorium eboreum84 manuale85 lectus pavoninus86 ephippium87 stibadia88 gustatorium89 mensa citrea90 mensa acerna91 dentes eborei92 quinquepedal93 pocula archetypa94 calices audaces95 phiala aurea caelata96 calices Vatinii97 lances chrysendetae98 vasa Arretina99 bascauda100 panaca102[L] calices Surrentini101[L] boletaria

(possible pair. Note, however, that 102[L] (by position P) is made of special earthenware (see comm.), while the implication of 101[L] (by position R) is of poverty - the boletar does not live up to its noble

name. It seems that the two epigrams should be transposed.)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 103 <u>colum nivarium</u> | 104 <u>saccus nivarius</u> |
| 105 <u>urceoli ministratorii</u> | 106 <u>urceus fictilis</u> |
| 107 - 112: discussed below. | |
| 113 <u>murrina</u> | 114 <u>patella Cumana</u> |
| 115 <u>calices vitrei</u> | 116-18 <u>lagona nivaria</u> , 119 <u>matella</u> |
| (the last being <u>lagona</u> -shaped: see comm.) | |
| 120 <u>ligula argentea</u> | 121 <u>coclearia</u> |
| 122 <u>anuli</u> | 123 <u>dactyliotheca</u> |
| 124-5 <u>toga</u> | 126 <u>endromis</u> |
| 127 <u>Canusinae fuscae</u> | 128 <u>bardocucullus</u> |
| 129 <u>Canusinae rufae</u> | 130 <u>paenula scortea</u> |
| 131 <u>lacernae coccineae</u> | 132 <u>pilleum</u> |
| 133 <u>lacernae Baeticae</u> | 134 <u>fascia pectoralis</u> |
| 135 - 142: discussed below. | |
| 143 <u>tunicae Patavinae</u> | 144 <u>spongea</u> |
| 145 <u>paenula gausapina</u> | 146 <u>cervical</u> |
| 147 <u>cubicularia gausapina</u> | - |
| 148 <u>lodices</u> | 149 <u>amictorium</u> |
| 150 <u>cubicularia polymita</u> | 151 <u>zona</u> |
| 152 <u>gausapum quadratum</u> | 153 <u>semicinctium</u> |
| 154 <u>lanae amethystinae</u> | 155 <u>lanae albae</u> |
| 156 <u>lanae Tyriae</u> | 157-8 <u>lanae Pollentinae</u> |
| 159 <u>tomentum Leuconicum</u> | 160 <u>tomentum circense</u> |
| 161 <u>pluma</u> | 162 <u>faenum</u> |
| 163 <u>tintinabulum</u> | 164 <u>discus</u> |

(possible pair,² although respective values are hard to tell except by

position, in which case 163 = R; 164 = P)

165-6 <u>cithara</u>	167 <u>plectrum</u>
-	168-9 <u>trochus</u>
170 <u>signum Victoriae aureum</u>	171 <u>Βρούτον παιδίον fictile</u>
172 <u>Sauroctonos Corinthius</u>	173 <u>Hyacinthus in tabula pictus</u>
174 <u>Hermaphroditus marmoreus</u>	175 <u>Danae picta</u>
-	176 <u>persona Germana</u>
177 <u>Hercules Corinthius</u>	178 <u>Hercules fictilis</u>
179 <u>Minerva argentea</u>	180 <u>Europe picta</u>
181 <u>Leandros marmoreus</u>	182 <u>sigillum gibberī fictile</u>
183 - 196: discussed below.	
197 <u>mulae pumilae</u>	198 <u>catella Gallicana</u>
199 <u>asturco</u>	200 <u>canis vertragus</u>
201 <u>palaestrita</u>	202 <u>simius</u>
203 <u>puella Gaditana</u>	204 <u>cymbala</u>
205 <u>puer</u>	206-207 <u>cestos</u>
208 <u>notarius</u>	209 <u>concha</u>
210 <u>morio</u>	211 <u>caput vervecinum</u>
212 <u>pumilius</u>	213 <u>parma</u>
214 <u>comoedi pueri</u>	215 <u>fibula</u>
216 <u>auceps</u>	217 <u>accipiter</u>
218 <u>opsonator</u>	219 <u>cor bubulum</u>
220 <u>cocus</u>	221 <u>craticula cum veribus</u>
222 <u>pistor dulciarius</u>	223 <u>adipata</u>

In the following sections, the order has proved difficult to determine or understand:

51 - 56

Were 51 strigiles definitely R, it might be paired with 52[L] gutis corneus, a cheap bone oil-flask which looks like genuine rhinoceros horn.

This would then yield the following sequence:

R	P
51 <u>strigiles</u>	52[L] <u>gutis corneus</u>
53[L] <u>rhinoceros</u>	54 <u>crepitaculum</u>
55 <u>flagellum</u>	56 <u>dentifricium</u>

The difficulties with this sequence are that 51 is quite likely P (see comm.), and that there is no apparent connection between rhinoceros horn and rattles, nor between a whip and abrasive tooth-powder. In its favour, we might note that, while a whip is not of necessity expensive, infants' rattles and tooth-powder are likely to be cheap.

Friedländer suggests moving 51 strigiles to pair up with 36 ferramenta tonsoria, and transposing the naturally paired 53[L] rhinoceros and 52[L] gutis corneus (note rhinocerota, line 2) to achieve the following order:

R	P
53[L] <u>rhinoceros</u>	52[L] <u>gutis corneus</u>
54 <u>crepitaculum</u>	55 <u>flagellum</u> (both children's toys)
-	56 <u>dentifricium</u> (a gift of unknown

value, lacking a partner, but probably P)

The disadvantages of moving 51 strigiles are that the epigram accords

with a pleasing transition from pre-bath exercise to items associated with bathing - see Mart. 14.45-48 n. below, and that if 51 is P, it cannot be coupled with 36, also P. The most satisfactory solution, given the problems raised, appears to be to regard 51 (P) as having lost its R partner, and then to adopt Friedländer's sequence. This I do, tentatively: as noted above, 54 crepitaculum is likely to be P rather than R.

107 - 112

105 urceoli ministratorii is R, and 106 urceus fictilis P. 107 calathi is possibly R: see comm. Rather than pair the (P) calices Saguntini (108[L]) with the calathi, Birt (p.77) suspects that the partner to 107 has fallen away and prefers (with good reason) to keep together the calices of 108-109[L]. As he appreciates, the RP sequence then necessitates transposition.

A problem remains, however, in that there are still two consecutive expensive items requiring attention: 110 ampulla pоторia (note gemma and see comm. at Mart. 14.94.2) and 111 crystallina. These are wrongly paired by Birt, p.77.

The sequence I recommend is this: ³

R	P
107 <u>calathi</u>	-
109[L] <u>calices gemmati</u>	108[L] <u>calices Saguntini</u>
110 <u>ampulla pоторia</u>	-
111 <u>crystallina</u>	112 <u>nimbus vitreus</u>

135 - 142

Of these epigrams, the following are with some degree of possibility expensive: 135 lacernae albae (see comm. ad loc.); 136 cenatoria (see comm. ad loc.); 140 cuculli Liburnici (see comm. ad loc.); 142 synthesis (cf. Mart. 14.1.1 - worn by equestrians and senators). Similarly, 141 udones Cilicii and 139 mantele are P (see comm. ad loc.). With regard to 137 focale and 138 laena, certain evaluation is impossible, except by position.

Lindsay follows the MSS when ordering these epigrams. This preserves an alternation of cloaks or garments which are similar/ related (R) with other, smaller gifts of clothing vel sim. (P). Lindsay's is the simplest course to follow and is certainly correct. The problem of having two consecutive R epigrams at the beginning and end of the section (135-6, 142-3), not addressed by Lindsay, is easily solved by accepting that lacunae must exist.

Schneidewin does not acknowledge lacunae and has to renumber to achieve an RP sequence:

R	P
135[S] <u>cenatoria</u>	136[S] <u>laena</u> (in Schdwn's order, P by position)
137[S] <u>lacernae albae</u>	138[S] <u>mantele</u>
139[S] <u>cuculli Liburnici</u>	140[S] <u>udones Cilicii</u>
141[S] <u>synthesis</u>	142[S] <u>focale</u>

The difficulty, however, is to establish connections between the pairs.

Friedländer too does not accept lacunae and reorders thus (p.299):

R	P
136[L] <u>cenatoria</u>	137[L] <u>focale</u> (connection = oral delivery, in law courts (see 136[L].1) or at recitations)
135[L] <u>lacernae albae</u>	140[L] <u>cuculli Liburnici</u> (connection = <u>lacerna</u> (see 140[L].1). Although I identify 140 as expensive above, a hood might be P in comparison with a cloak. For R and P gifts which complement one another, see at Mart. 14.31. <u>le</u> .)
138[L] <u>laena</u>	141[L] <u>udones Cilicii</u> (connection = warmth? In Friedländer's order, 138[L] is R by position. If paired with <u>udones Cilicii</u> , it is also R by comparison.)
142[L] <u>synthesis</u>	139[L] <u>mantele</u> (both connected with dinner)

By so doing, Friedländer achieves an acceptable RP sequence in which the epigrams are paired with a certain logic. Yet any reordering is drastic when a simple solution exists and so his sequence must be rejected for that of Lindsay and the MSS.

183 - 196

This section deals with literary works. Since the received order of epigrams and the RP sequence agree both before and after the section, we can assume provisionally that they do here too:

R	P
183 <u>Homeri Batrachomachia</u> ⁴	184 <u>Homerus in pugillaribus membranis</u>
185 <u>Vergili Culex</u>	186 <u>Vergilius in membranis</u>
187 <u>Μενάνδρου Θαίς</u>	188 <u>Cicero in membranis</u>
189 <u>Monobyblos Properti</u>	190 <u>Titus Livius in membranis</u>

191 <u>Sallustius</u>	192 <u>Ovidi Metamorphosis in membranis</u>
193 <u>Tibullus</u>	194 <u>Lucanus</u>
195 <u>Catullus</u>	196 <u>Calvi de aquae frigidae usu</u>

Such an assumption yields surprising results, however. Why is it that major works like the Homeric epics, Virgil, Cicero, Livy and the Metamorphoses of Ovid are P while trifles such as the Batrachomachia, the Culex, Menander's Thais and Propertius Book 1 are not?

A possibility is that parchment was cheaper than papyrus - but owing to insufficient evidence as to the relative costs of these substances (Roberts and Skeat pp.7, 27), no firm conclusions can be drawn; and, anyhow, the works described in 193-196 are all on papyrus, whether cheap or not.

Various other attempts at explanation have been made, two of which are recorded below:

G.Friedrich, RhM 62(1907) pp.372 ff., argues that the wealthy and therefore educated man would probably buy (and read) a single work, e.g. the Batrachomachia (R), while a poor (and in Roman times correspondingly less educated) man would settle for the imposing bulk of the complete works, e.g. of Homer (P), (which he would not read). Possible support for this view might be Mart. 1.45, which suggests that large books, no matter how repetitive, sell better (and are consequently cheaper?) than small ones.

Birt's arguments are more complex: he claims that recent works (e.g. those of Lucan), being in readier supply, were cheap relative to earlier and more sought after ones (e.g. Tibullus').⁵ In support of this theory, he refers (p.82) to Pomponius, dig. 1.2.2.45: 'Cassellii scripta non extant nisi unus liber bene dictorum. Trebati plures, sed minus

frequentatur'. Similarly the monobyblos of Propertius is valuable since, once his later poems had appeared and the whole corpus was published collectively, copies of individual works became rare collectors' items. The Thais, being earlier than Cicero, would be more valuable, while the Culex and Batrachomachia, being supposed juvenilia, would have interest to collectors.

As to the unusualness of parchment⁵ for copies of literary works at this time (cited by Friedländer, p.299, in support of his claim that the parchment works were in fact the more valuable), Birt's idea is that the poor, being unable to afford collectors' items, instead made their own copies of major works onto parchment to give as gifts. He refers to Lucian Sat. 16 ἀντιπεμπέτω δὲ ὁ πένης τῷ πλουσίῳ ὁ μὲν πεπαιδευμένος βιβλίον τῶν παλαιῶν, εἴ τι εὖφημον καὶ συμποτικόν, ἢ αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα ὁποῖόν ἂν δύνηται.; but this is pushing the evidence of Lucian a little. (The unlettered poor man is to send flowers or frankincense: Lucian *ibid.*)

Rather than indulge in such speculative explanation, I prefer to say that at present there is no sure way of valuing these literary works and that therefore an open verdict is best.

It is, however, perhaps worth noting with Friedländer (p.300) that some literary works might have fallen out - Cicero and Menander make an unlikely pair, as do Propertius and Livy, and Sallust and Ovid.

Notes

1) For pairing, see *comm. ad loc.*

2) Friedländer, like Birt (p.78), prefers to pair 168-9 trochus (P) with 164 discus (R), thinking that the partner to 163 tintinabulum (P) has fallen out.

3) Friedländer has 107(R); 108[L](P); 109[L](R); 110(P); 111(R); 112(P); 113(R); 114(P); 115(R); < >(P).

4) For the orthography, see Intro. 'Text' below, comm. ad loc.

5) Evaluating books precisely by referring to prices quoted in literary works is impossible given the lack of consistency in these prices, the fact that booksellers could charge different rates, and that authors who cite prices are sometimes indulging in literary jokes - e.g. Statius at Silv. 4.9 (note that the as Gaianum was probably a proverbial indication of worthlessness rather than an exact amount: see Coleman at line 22).

6) Else why specify 'in (pugillaribus) membran(e)is' in the lemmata? The novelty of the codex form is discussed in the comm., Mart. 14.183-196 n.

vi) The Metre

Fuller treatments of M's metrical usage can be found e.g. in Raven and in Friedländer's introduction. See too Sullivan, p.227 n.22, who gives metrical statistics and useful bibliographical references. The points below are intended for convenience of reference with particular regard to Book 14. (General discussions of M. and the epigram can be found in Sullivan, ch. 3, and in the introductions to the Loeb and Budé; cf. J.Bramble, CHCL II, pp.601-2.)

A) Elegiacs

M's hexameters compare well with the Augustan ideal. He admits the occasional polysyllabic ending, e.g. Mart. 14.128.1 bardocucullo, 215.1 citharoedis (for a similar molossos not involving a loan-word, see Mart. 10.46.1), while monosyllabic endings are to be found at Mart. 14.62.1, 75.1 (cf. also 11.84.17, 12.17.9).

M's pentameters are not Augustan, however. The following peculiarities are discoverable in Book 14:

1) The disyllable 'rule' for the pentameter end is frequently broken: see Sullivan, pp. 227-8. The irregular word is often a trisyllable, and is often pointed in meaning (see Raven 987; cf. Birt in Friedländer, pp.30-31). Pentameter endings with more than two syllables occur in Book 14 in poems 23, 57, 58, 83, 98, 102, 120, 126, 137, 140, 191, 195, 201, 203, 214, 215.

M. closes the pentameter with a short syllable at Mart. 14.126 (endromida). This is very unusual, especially amongst the Augustan poets: Platnauer p.64.

ii) At Mart. 14.215 the monosyllabic penultimate word yields agreement between ictus and word stress (cf. Sp. 26.8 'aut didicit'). Compare Platnauer, p.16, on Augustan practice: 'Where a trisyllabic ending is found, it is nearly always preceded by a word of iambic form'.

iii) There is a high incidence of spondaic pentameter openings in M. (35% for Book 14 as opposed to Ovid's single figures (Tibullus and especially Propertius yield higher percentages). Platnauer, p.37, gives the Augustan figures).

iv) M. seems not to have avoided metrically interchangeable pentameter halves to the same degree as did the Augustans; note e.g. Mart. 14.19, 20, 47, 141, 159, 177 (for Augustan avoidance, see Platnauer p.14).

B) Hendecasyllabics

Next to elegiacs, M. favoured hendecasyllables (Raven p.180). 'Nine of the 223 poems in Book 14 are hendecasyllabic (contrast two ex 127 in Book 13), these being poems 8, 10, 37, 39, 40, 53, 56, 148, 206. Hendecasyllables, often associated with obscenity (Quint. Inst. 1.8.6, Pliny Ep. 4.14), were thought particularly appropriate to the Saturnalia (cf. Coleman at Stat. Silv. 4.9; cf. 4 praef. 22, Silv. 1.6, Catul. 14, Mart. 5.84). Hence the inclusion of this metre in Book 14 is not objectionable, pace L.Hermann, Latomus 26(1967), p.1017 f. Rather, it is perhaps surprising that more poems are not hendecasyllabic - despite M's elegiac preference. Possibly the tradition of (elegiac) dedicatory epigram, with which the Apophoreta can be identified, had some influence.

M's hendecasyllables, like Statius', invariably open spondaically, the freedom enjoyed by Catullus having fallen victim to Horatian aeolic practice (compare Sullivan p.228 f.). The caesura usually follows the fifth or sixth syllable, and elision is relatively uncommon. (In Book 14, note 56.1. See generally J.Ferguson, CPh 65(1970), p.175.)

Notes

1) J.Bramble gives the following figures in CHCL II p.603: M wrote 1561 epigrams in total, 1235 in elegiacs, 238 in hexameters, 77 in scazons and a few in hexameters and iambics.

vii) The text

I have generally worked from Lindsay's text (OCT), although I have paid close attention to Shackleton Bailey's Teubner. Given the quality of Lindsay's apparatus (cf. Kay p.1 citing Housman, Class. Pap. p.1098), I have not felt an independent collation of the MSS necessary (cf. Kay loc. cit.). Instances where I differ from the OCT are listed at the end of this section; cf. the concordances in the appendix.

Recent treatments of M's MS tradition are listed by M.D.Reeve in L.D.Reynolds (ed.), Texts and Transmission, Oxford 1983, p.238 n.1. To these add that of Shackleton Bailey (pp.v ff.), and that of Kay (pp.1 ff.). Much of the following summarises the latter. Given the thoroughness and quality of earlier textual assessments, such a minimum as is necessary for convenience of reference is provided here, bearing in mind Reeve (op. cit. p.243): 'A thorough study of the tradition, however rewarding, would hardly benefit editors'.

The surviving MSS fall into three families, conveniently known by Lindsay's designations for their archetypes: A^a, B^a, C^a (Schneidewin's α, β, γ).¹

The A^a family is made up of anthologies. It is the only family to contain excerpts from Sp.; it contains excerpts from Books 1-12; and it also contains Books 13-14 in full. It shows a tendency to expurgate, but without compromising Latinity and metre (Reeve op. cit. p.243 and n.29). Of its three component MSS, T and R are relevant to Book 14: H has lost Sp. 1.1-18.4 and everything after 1.4.2.² T is generally fuller than R (Reeve op. cit. p.241).³

With regard to the B^a and C^a families, see Kay p.2. The order of epigrams in the B^a MSS, Books 1-4, differs greatly from that of those in

the C^a MSS, and the MSS of both families omit epigrams.⁴

A number of ancient MSS survive which cannot be allocated to a family. Amongst those noted by Reeve (op. cit. p.241) is Leipzig Rep. 1.4^o 74 (s ix 2/4, Orléans?) ff25^r - 26^v, which contains one of the Apophoreta (= Mart. 14.212; see M.Haupt, Opusc. I, Leipzig 1875, p.290).

Of the MSS which make up the three families, not one differs significantly from its siblings in agreement with the MSS of another family (cf. Kay p.2). This indicates that there was no contamination from the time when the family archetypes were written to the 12th Century, when contamination is apparent in France (mainly between the MSS of the families A^a and C^a)⁵.

The date of these family archetypes cannot be precisely ascertained.⁶ The B^a archetype appears to have been Italian, written in Beneventan miniscule in the 9th/10th Century; the C^a archetype French, in Caroline miniscule in the 8th/9th Century. Of the A^a archetype, nothing can be said save that it probably originated in France. Nevertheless, it can be firmly inferred that not just one MS, as is all too often the case, but three survived the Dark Ages to spawn the three Martial archetypes.

Questions arise: did the three MSS which survived the Dark Ages stem independently and without contamination from a single source, and was this source an autograph?

Affirmatives seem justified: all three families contain epigrams unique to them and all three families have unique good readings. The independence of the three pre-Dark Age MSS is therefore secured. Minimal contamination between these three MSS is suggested by divergence in error greatly outweighing instances of shared error between the three families.⁷ Where agreement in error does exist, however,⁸ it is either

trivial, or can be taken as very early (M. refers at 2.8 and 7.11 to mistakes made by contemporary copyists). The presence of shared errors suggests a single source for the pre-Dark Age MSS, and the general triviality of these errors suggests that the source was an autograph.

Given these affirmative answers, the implications for the editor should be clearly understood: in rejecting the combined witness of two families against a third, or the combined witness of all against conjecture (e.g. at Mart. 14.183 le. Batrachomachia, one might argue for Batrachomyomachia: see comm. ad loc.), he must acknowledge that he is effectively dealing with pre-Dark Age witnesses descended from an autograph, i.e. considerably earlier and more authoritative witnesses than those usually found in MSS traditions, and he should consequently be very sure of his ground when making changes (cf. W.M.Lindsay, CR 17(1903), p.49).²⁹

Instances in the surviving MSS where the divergent readings of different families seem equally sound have led some, e.g. Schneidewin and Lindsay, to suggest author variants. The idea is interesting but, assuming a single autograph source for all three families, is probably untenable; cf. Kay, who works his way convincingly through two test cases and, noting that the differences are generally trifling, asks whether '...it is likely that Martial would bother himself with such trivialities and that his second thoughts should remain evident in the manuscripts' (p.4).

When noting that some sensible variants are possible proof of early editing, early since the Latin is too idiomatic to be that of medieval scribes, Kay gives as one example Mart. 14.29.2 mandatus A^aB^a: nam ventus C^a, suggesting that some C^a scribe did not perceive that

Mandatus was a name, and so emended. This example will not serve, however: for a rejection of mandatus in favour of Pontanus' nam flatus, see below ad loc.¹⁰ As his other main instance, following Schmid, Kay cites Mart. 13.65.2. Here the failure of a B^a scribe to understand an obscene allusion led to a clumsy attempt at emendation, which C^a scribes were unsuccessful in putting right.¹¹

Sigla (modelled on those of the OCT).

A = Vossianus Leidensis primus (Q 56), saec. xi.

A^a = archetypum codicum TR.

B = Vossianus Leidensis secundus (Q 121), saec. xii.

B^a = archetypum codicum LPQ.

C = Vossianus Leidensis tertius (F 89), saec. xiv.

C^a = archetypum codicum EXAVBGC.

E = Edinburgensis bibliothecae Facultatis Advocatorum, saec. x in.

G = Gudianus Wolfenbuttelensis (157), saec. xii.

H = Hauptii florilegium Vindobonense (277), saec. ix in.

Ital. = Italorum doctorum coniecturas codices et libri impressi qui exhibent.

L = Lucensis bibliothecae regiae Berolinensis (fol.612), saec. xii.

M = marginalia Bongarsiana in libro impresso bibliothecae publicae Bernensis (G152).

P = Palatinus Vaticanus (1696), saec. xv.

Q = Arondellianus Musei Britannici (136), saec. xv.

R = Vossianum florilegium Leidense (Q 86), saec. ix.

T = Thuaneum florilegium Parisinum (8071), saec. ix-x.

V = Vaticanus (3294), saec. x.

X = Puteanus Parisinus (8067), saec. x.

Differences from the OCT (to which all numbers in this section refer).

A) Order of epigrams (For arguments, see Intro. 'Order'.)

14.52-53: transpose.

14.69-70: transpose.

14.101-102: transpose.

14.108-109: transpose.

Lacunae are marked after Mart. 14.35, 50, 55, 107 (with Birt), 110, 135, 142, 147, 167, 175 (with Birt).

B) Individual readings (insignificant differences in punctuation and orthography are not listed).

14.1.6: read det (with B^{AC} and Shackleton Bailey).

14.13.2: punctuate with a question mark after 'nihil est' (with Ker).

14.16.2: read facit (with B^{AC} and Shackleton Bailey).

14.24.1: read madidi (Itali).

14.29.2: read nam flatu (with Pontanus).

14.33.1: punctuate with a comma after vena (with Shackleton Bailey and others).

14.37.1: read constrictos (with B^{AC} and Shackleton Bailey).

14.45.1: obelise difficili.

14.46.2: read si (with B^{AC} and Shackleton Bailey).

14.53.2: read putabis (with B^A and Shackleton Bailey).

14.77.2: read plorabat (with TC^A).

14.81.2: read tetrico (with C^A and Heraeus).

- 14.117.1: read rigentem (with B^{AC}).
- 14.121.2: read vocer (with B^{AEVX}; cf. Mart. 14.154.2).
- 14.131.1: read 'qui...sumis' (with C^A).
- 14.145.1: read tanta est (with B^{AC} and Shackleton Bailey).
- 14.158.1: read nata (with Schryver).
- 14.184.le. read membraneis (with M).
- 14.185.le.: read culex (with A^{BA}).
- 14.189.2: read nec (with B^{AC} and Shackleton Bailey).
- 14.196.2: read natabit (with C^A).
- 14.197.2: read paene (with B^{AC}).
- 14.201.1: read vincit (with B^{AC} and Shackleton Bailey).
- 14.212.le.: read pumilus (with Schneidewin).
- 14.219.2: remove comma after cor (with Shackleton Bailey).
- 14.221.le.: read veribus (with T and Gilbert).

Notes

- 1) For the dates and provenances of individual MSS, see the sigla supplied below.
- 2) In other texts common to H and T, e.g. Grattius Cyn., many think T a copy of H, but conclusive proof is lacking (Reeve op. cit. p.241).
- 3) In Book 14, R has 5, 7, 12, 30, 36, 42, 144, 161, 183-196, 198, 208-9, 217-8, 220, 222-3, i.e. 30 epigrams compared with T's 197.
- 4) In Book 14, the B^A MSS omit e.g. 10, 25, 95-6, 98.2-99.1, 127.1-128.2. The C^A MSS omit e.g. 64-5. (The B^A MSS jumble the order of epigrams e.g. at 35, 123; the C^A MSS e.g. at 18, 68, 216.)
- 5) Later contamination is discernible in Renaissance Italy, mainly between the B^A and C^A MSS.

- 6) For this paragraph and the arguments which follow, see Kay pp. 2 ff.
- 7) Some contamination must be conceded as likely, perhaps when Torquatus Gennadius edited M. in 401 (Kay p. 3).
- 8) Kay lists agreements in error at p. 3 n. 9.
- 9) This is not to say that one family does not sometimes preserve the truth in the face of both the others: Shackleton Bailey pp. viii ff.
- 10) In citing Mart. 14.29.2 in his note on Mart. 11.21.6 'Pompeiano...Noto', Kay appears there to favour nam flatus.
- 11) As Kay observes, this is an instance where contamination in the pre-archetype tradition can be postulated (p. 4 n. 3).

M. VAL. MARTIALIS
APOPHORETA
[Liber XIV]

1

synthesibus dum gaudet eques dominusque senator
dumque decent nostrum pillea sumpta Iovem;
nec timet aedilem moto spectare fritillo,
cum videat gelidos tam prope verna lacus:
divitis alternas et pauperis accipe sortes: [5]
praemia convivae det sua quisque suo.
'sunt apinae tricaeque et si quid vilius istis.'
quis nescit? vel quis tam manifesta negat?
sed quid agam potius madidis, Saturne, diebus,
quos tibi pro caelo filius ipse dedit? [10]
vis scribam Thebas Troiamve malasve Mycenae?
'lude' inquis 'nucibus': perdere nolo nuces.

2

quo vis cumque loco potes hunc finire libellum:
versibus explicitum est omne duobus opus.
lemmata si quaeris cur sint adscripta, docebo:
ut, si malueris, lemmata sola legas.

3 pugillares citrei

secta nisi in tenues essemus ligna tabellas,
essemus Libyci nobile dentis onus.

4 quinquiplices

caede iuvenorum domini calet area felix,
quinquiplici cera cum datur altus honos.

5 pugillares eborei

languida ne tristes obscurent lumina cerae,
nigra tibi niveum littera pingat ebur.

6 triplices

tunc triplices nostros non vilia dona putabis,
cum se venturam scribet amica tibi.

7 pugillares membranei

esse puta ceras, licet haec membrana vocetur:
delebis, quotiens scripta novare voles.

8 Vitelliani

nondum legerit hos licet puella,
novit quid cupiant Vitelliani.

9 idem

quod minimos cernis, mitti nos credis amicae.
falleris: et nummos ista tabella rogat.

10 chartae maiores

non est munera quod putes pusilla,
cum donat vacuas poeta chartas.

11 chartae epistolares

seu leviter noto seu caro missa sodali
omnes ista solet charta vocare suos.

12 loculi eborei

hos nisi de flava loculos implere moneta
non decet: argentum vilia ligna ferant.

13 loculi lignei

si quid adhuc superest in nostri faece locelli,
munus erit. Nihil est? ipse locellus erit.

14 tali eborei

cum steterit nullus vultu tibi talus eodem,
munera me dices magna dedisse tibi.

15 tesserae

non sim talorum numero par tessera, dum sit
maior quam talis alea saepe mihi.

16 turricula

quae scit compositos manus improba mittere talos,
si per me misit, nil nisi vota facit.

17 tabula lusoria

hac mihi bis seno numeratur tessera puncto;
calculus hac gemino discolor hoste perit.

18 calculi

insidiosorum si ludis bella latronum,
gemmeus iste tibi miles et hostis erit.

19 nuces

alea parva nuces et non damnosa videtur;
saepe tamen pueris abstulit illa natis.

20 theca libraria

sortitus thecam calamis armare memento:
cetera nos dedimus, tu leviora para.

21 graphiarium

haec tibi erunt armata suo graphiaria ferro:
si puero dones, non leve munus erit.

22 dentiscalpium

lentiscum melius: sed si tibi frondea cuspis
defuerit, dentes pinna levare potest.

23 auriscalpium

si tibi morosa prurigne verminat auris,
arma damus tantis apta libidinibus.

24 acus aurea

splendida ne madidi violent bombycina crines,
figat acus tortas sustineatque comas.

25 pectines

quid faciet nullos hic inventura capillos
multifido buxus quae tibi dente datur?

26 crines

Chattica Teutonicos accendit spuma capillos:
captivis poteris cultior esse comis.

27 sapo

si mutare paras longaevos cana capillos,
accipe Mattiacas - quo tibi calva? - pilas.

28 umbella

accipe quae nimios vincant umbracula soles:
sit licet et ventus, te tua vela tegent.

29 causea

in Pompeiano tecum spectabo theatro.
nam flatus populo vela negare solet.

30 venabula

excipient apros expectabuntque leones,
intrabunt ursos, sit modo firma manus.

31 culter venatorius

si delecta gemas longo venabula rostro,
hic brevis ingentem comminus ibit aprum.

32 parazonium

militiae decus hoc gratique erit omen honoris,
arma tribunicium cingere digna latus.

33 pugio

pugio, quem curva signat brevis orbita vena,
stridentem gelidis hunc Salo tinxit aquis.

34 falx

pax me certa ducis placidos curvavit in usus.
agricolae nunc sum, militis ante fui.

35 securicula

cum fierit tristis solvendis auctio nummis,
haec quadringentis milibus empti fuit.

36 ferramenta tonsoria

tondendis haec arma tibi sunt apta capillis;
unguibus hic longis utilis, illa genis.

37 scrinium

constrictos nisi das mihi libellos,
admittam tineas trucesque blattas.

38 fascēs calamorum

dat chartis habiles calamos Memphitica tellus;
texantur reliqua tecta palude tibi.

39 lucerna cubicularis

dulcis conscia lectuli lucerna,
quidquid vis facias licet, tacebo.

40 cicindela

ancillam tibi sors dedit lucernae,
totas quae vigil exigit tenebras.

41 lucerna polymyxos

inlustrem cum tota meis convivia flammis
totque geram myxos, una lucerna vocor.

42 cereus

hic tibi nocturnos praestabit cereus ignis:
subducta est puero namque lucerna tuo.

43 candelabrum Corinthium

nomina candelae nobis antiqua dederunt.
non norat parcos uncta lucerna patres.

44 candelabrum ligneum

esse vides lignum; servas nisi lumina, fiet
de candelabro magna lucerna tibi.

45 pila paganica

haec quae t̄difficili t̄urget paganica pluma,
folle minus laxa est et minus arta pila.

46 pila trigonalis

si me mobilibus scis expulsare sinistris,
sum tua. si nescis, rustice, redde pilam.

47 follis

ite procul, iuvenes: mitis mihi convenit aetas:
folle decet pueros ludere, folle senes.

48 harpasta

haec rapit Antaei velox in pulvere draucus,
grandia qui vano colla labore facit.

49 halteres

quid pereunt stulto fortes haltere lacerti?
exercet melius vinea fossa viros.

50 galericulum

ne lutet inmundum nitidos ceroma capillos,
hac poteris madidas condere pelle comas.

<>

51 strigiles

Pergamon has misit. Curvo destringere ferro:
non tam saepe teret lintea fullo tibi.

52 rhinoceros

nuper in Ausonia domini spectatus harena
hic erit ille tibi cui pila taurus erat.

53 gutus corneus

gestavit modo fronte me iuventus:
verum rhinocerotam me putabis.

54 crepitaculum

si quis plorator collo tibi vernula pendet,
haec quatiat tenera garrula sinistra manu.

55 flagellum

proficies nihil hoc, caedas licet usque, flagello,
si tibi purpureo de grege currit equus.

<>

56 dentefricium

quid mecum est tibi? me puella sumat:
emptos non soleo polire dentes.

57 myrobalanum

quod nec Vergilius nec carmine dicit Homerus,
hoc ex unguento constat et ex balano.

58 aphronitrum

rusticus es? nescis quid Graeco nomine dicar:
spuma vocor nitri. Graecus es? aphronitrum.

59 opobalsama

balsama me capiunt, haec sunt unguenta virorum:
delicias Cosmi vos redolet, nurus.

60 lomentum

gratum munus erit scisso nec inutile ventri,
si clara Stephani balnea luce petes.

61 lanterna cornea

dux lanterna viae clusis feror aurea flammis,
et tuta est gremio parva lucerna meo.

62 lanterna de vesica

cornea si non sum, numquid sum fuscior? aut me
vesicam, contra qui venit, esse putat?

63 tibiae

ebria nos madidis rumpit tibicina buccis:
saepe duas pariter, saepe monaulon habet.

64 fistula

quid me compactam ceris et harundine rides?
quae primum structa est fistula talis erat.

65 soleae lanatae

defuerit si forte puer soleasque libebit
sumere pro puero pes erit ipse sibi.

66 mamillare

taurino poteras pectus constringere tergo:
nam pellis mammas non capit ista tuas.

67 muscarium pavoninum

lambere quae turpes prohibet tua prandia muscas,
alitis eximiae cauda superba fuit.

68 muscarium bubulum

sordida si flavo fuerit tibi pulvere vestis,
colligat hunc tenui verbere cauda levis.

69 Priapus siligineus

si vis esse satur, nostrum potes esse Priapum;
ipsa licet rodas inguina, purus eris.

70 copta Rhodiaca

peccantis famuli pugno ne percute dentes:
clara Rhodos coptam quam tibi misit edat.

71 porcus

iste tibi faciet bona Saturnalia porcus,
inter spumantes illice pastus apros.

72 botulus

qui venit botulus mediae tibi tempore brumae,
Saturni septem venerat ante dies.

73 psittacus

psittacus a vobis aliorum nomina discam.
hoc didici per me dicere: 'Caesar have'.

74 corvus

corve saluator, quare fellator haberis?
in caput intravit mentula nulla tuum.

75 luscinia

flet Philomela nefas incesti Tereos, et quae
muta puella fuit, garrula fertur avis.

76 pica

pica loquax certa dominum te voce saluto:
si me non videas, esse negabis avem.

77 cavea eborea

si tibi talis erit qualem dilecta Catullo
Lesbia plorabat, hic habitare potest.

78 narthecium

artis ebur medicae narthecia cernis: habebis
munera quae cuperet Paccius esse sua.

79 flagra

ludite lascivi, sed tantum ludite, servi:
haec signata mihi quinque diebus erunt.

80 ferulae

invisae nimium pueris grataeque magistris,
clara Prometheo munere ligna sumus.

81 pera

ne mendica ferat barbatī prandia nudi
dormiat et tetrico cum cane, pera rogat.

82 scopae

in pretio scopas testatur palma fuisse.
otia sed scopis nunc analecta dedit.

83 sculptorium eboreum

defendet manus haec scapulas mordente molesto
pulice, vel si quid pulice sordidius.

84 manuale

ne toga barbatus faciat vel paenula libros,
haec abies chartis tempora longa dabit.

85 lectus pavoninus

nomina dat spondae pictis pulcherrima pinnis
nunc Iunonis avis, sed prius Argus erat.

86 ephippium

stragula succincti venator sume veredi:
nam solet a nudo surgere ficus equo.

87 stibadia

accipe lunata scriptum testudine sigma.
octo capit; veniat quisquis amicus erit.

88 gustatorium

femineam nobis cherson si credis inesse,
deciperis: pelagi mascula praeda sumus.

89 mensa citrea

accipe felices, Atlantica munera, silvas:
aurea qui dederit dona, minora dabit.

90 mensa acerna

non sum crispa quidem nec silvae filia Maurae,
sed norunt lautas et mea ligna dapes.

91 dentes eborei

grandia taurorum portant qui corpora, quaeris
an Libycas possint sustinuisse trabes?

92 quinquepedal

puncta notis ilex et acuta cuspide clusa
saepe redemptoris prodere furta solet.

93 pocula archetypa

non est ista recens, nec nostri gloria caeli:
primus in his Mentor, dum facit illa, bibit.

94 calices audaces

nos sumus audacis plebeia toreumata vitri,
nostra neque ardenti gemma feritur aqua.

95 phiale aurea caelata

quamvis Callaico rubeam generosa metallo,
glorior arte magis: nam Myos iste labor.

96 calices Vatini

vilia sutoris calicem monimenta Vatini
accipe; sed nasus longior ille fuit.

97 lances chrysendetae

grandia ne viola parvo chrysendeta mullo:
ut minimum, libras debet habere duas.

98 vasa Arretina

Arretina nimis ne spernas vasa monemus:
lautus erat Tuscis Porsena fictilibus.

99 bascauda

barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis,
sed me iam mavolt dicere Roma suam.

100 panaca
si non ignota est docti tibi terra Catulli,
potasti testa Raetica vina mea.

101 calices Surrentini
accipe non villi calices de pulvere natos,
sed Surrentinae leve toreuma rotae.

102 boletaria
cum mihi boleti dederint tam nobile nomen,
prototomis - pudet heu! - servio coliculis.

103 colum nivarium
Setinos, moneo, nostra nive frange trientes:
pauperiore mero tingere lina potes.

104 saccus nivarius
attenuare nives norunt et lintea nostra:
frigidior colo non salit unda tuo.

105 urceoli ministratorii
frigida non deerit, non deerit calda petenti.
sed tu morosa ludere parce siti.

106 urceus fictilis
hic tibi donatur panda ruber urceus ansa.
Stoicus hoc gelidam Fronto petebat aquam.

107 calathi
nos Satyri, nos Bacchus amat, nos ebria tigris,
perfusos domini lambere docta pedes.

<>

108 calices gemmati
gemmatum Scythicis ut luceat ignibus aurum
aspice. quot digitos exuit iste calix!

109 calices Saguntini
quae non sollicitus teneat servetque minister
sume Saguntino pocula facta luto.

110 ampulla potoria
hac licet in gemma, servat quae nomina Cosmi,
luxuriose, bibas, si foliata sitis.

<>

111 crystallina
frangere dum metuis, franges crystallina: peccant
securae nimium sollicitaeque manus.

112 nimbus vitreus

a Iove qui veniet, miscenda ad pocula largas
fundet nimbus aquas: hic tibi vina dabit.

113 murrina

si caldum potas, ardentī murra Falerno
convenit et melior fit sapor inde mero.

114 patella Cumana

hanc tibi Cumano rubicundam pulvere testam
municipem misit casta Sibylla suam.

115 calices vitrei

aspicis ingenium Nili: quibus addere plura
dum cupit, a quotiens perdidit auctor opus!

116 lagona nivaria

Spoletina bibis vel Marsis condita cellis:
quo tibi decoctae nobile frigus aquae?

117 idem

non potare nivem sed aquam potare rigentem
de nive commenta est ingeniosa sitis.

118 idem

Massiliae fumos miscere nivalibus undis
parce, puer, constet ne tibi pluris aqua.

119 matella fictilis

dum poscor crepitu digitorum et verna moratur,
o quotiens paelex culcita facta mea est!

120 ligula argentea

quamvis me ligulam dicant equitesque patresque,
dicor ab indoctis lingula grammaticis.

121 coclearia

sum cocleis habilis sed nec minus utilis ovis.
numquid scis, potius cur cocleare vocer?

122 anuli

ante frequens sed nunc rarus nos donat amicus.
felix cui comes est non alienus eques.

123 dactyliotheca

saepe gravis digitis elabitur anulus unctis,
tuta mea fiet sed tua gemma fide.

124 toga

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam
ille facit, magno qui dedit astra patri.

125 idem

si matutinos facile est tibi perdere somnos
attrita veniet sportula saepe toga.

126 endromis

pauperis est munus sed non est pauperis usus:
hanc tibi pro laena mittimus endromida.

127 Canusinae fuscae

haec tibi turbato Canusina simillima mulso
munus erit. gaude: non cito fiet anus.

128 bardocucullus

Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo.
cercopithecorum paenula nuper erat.

129 Canusinae rufae

Roma magis fuscis vestitur, Gallia rufis,
et placet hic pueris militibusque colos.

130 paenula scortea

ingrediare viam caelo licet usque sereno,
ad subitas nusquam scortea desit aquas.

131 lacernae coccineae

si veneto prasinove faves, qui coccina sumis,
ne fias ista transfuga sorte vide.

132 pilleum

si possem, totas cuperem misisse lacernas:
nunc tantum capiti munera mitto tuo.

133 lacernae Baeticae

non est lana mihi mendax nec mutor ahenus.
sic placeant Tyriae: me mea tinxit ovis.

134 fascia pectoralis

fascia, crescentes dominae compesce papillas
ut sit quod capiat nostra tegatque manus.

135 lacernae albae

amphitheatrali nos commendamus ab usu,
cum teget argentes alba lacerna togas.

<>

136 cenatoria

nec fora sunt nobis nec sunt vadimonia nota:
hoc opus est, pictis accubuisse toris.

137 focale

si recitaturus dederis tibi forte libellum,
hoc focale tuas adserat auriculas.

138 laena

tempore brumali non multum levia prosunt:
calfaciunt villi pallia vestra mei.

139 mantele

nobilius villosa tegant tibi lintea citrum:
orbibus in nostris circulus esse potest.

140 cuculli Liburnici

iungere nescisti nobis, o stulte, lacernas:
indueras albas, exue callainas.

141 udones Cilicii

non hos lana dedit sed olentis barba mariti:
Cinyphio poterit planta latere sinu.

142 synthesis

dum toga per quinas gaudet requiescere luces,
hos poteris cultus sumere iure tuo.

<>

143 tunicae Patavinae

vellera consumunt Patavinae multa trilices,
et pingues tunicas serra secare potest.

144 spongea

haec tibi sorte datur tergendis spongea mensis
utilis, expresso cum levis imbre tumet.

145 paenula gausapina

is mihi candor inest, villorum gratia tanta est,
ut me vel media sumere messe velis.

146 cervical

tingue caput Cosmi folio, cervical olebit:
perdidit unguentum cum coma, pluma tenet.

147 cubicularia gausapina

stragula purpureis lucent villosa tapetis.
quid prodest si te congelat uxor anus?

<>

148 lodices

nudo stragula ne toro paterent
iunctae nos tibi venimus sorores.

149 amictorium

mammosas metuo; tenerae me trade puellae,
ut possint niveo pectore lina frui.

150 cubicularia polymita

haec tibi Menphitis tellus dat munera: victa est
pectine Niliaco iam Babylonos acus.

151 zona

longa satis nunc sum; dulci sed pondere venter
si tumeat, fiam tunc tibi zona brevis.

152 gausapum quadratum

lodices mittet docti tibi terra Catulli;
nos Helicaonia de regione sumus.

153 semicinctium

det tunicam locuples: ego te praecingere possum.
essem si locuples, munus utrumque darem.

154 lanae amethystinae

ebria Sidoniae cum sis de sanguine conchae,
non video quare sobria lana vocer.

155 lanae albae

velleribus primis Apulia, Parma secundis
nobilis: Altinum tertia laudat ovis.

156 lanae Tyriae

nos Lacedaemoniae pastor donavit amicae:
deterior Ledae purpura matris erat.

157 lanae Pollentinae

non tantum pullo lugentes vellere lanas,
sed solet et calices haec dare terra suos.

158 idem

lana quidem tristis sed tonsis nata ministris,
quales non primo de grege mensa citat.

159 tomentum Leuconicum

oppressae nimium vicina est fascia plumae?
vellera Leuconicis accipe rasa sagis.

160 tomentum Circense

tomentum concisa palus Circense vocatur.
haec pro Leuconico stramina pauper emit.

161 pluma

lassus Amyclaea poteris requiescere pluma,
interior cycni quam tibi lana dedit.

162 faenum

fraudata tumeat fragilis tibi culcita mula.
non venit ad duros pallida cura toros.

163 tintinabulum

redde pilam: sonat aes thermarum. ludere pergis?
virgine vis sola lotus abire domum.

164 discus

splendida cum volitant Spartani pondera disci,
este procul, pueri: sit semel ille nocens.

165 cithara

reddidit Eurydicen vati: sed perdidit ipse,
dum sibi non credit nec patienter amat.

166 idem

de Pompeiano saepe est eiecta theatro
quae duxit silvas detinuitque feras.

167 plectrum

fervida ne trito tibi pollice pusula surgat,
exornent docilem candida plectra lyram.

<>

168 trochus

inducenda rota est: das nobis utile munus:
iste trochus pueris, at mihi cantus erit.

169 idem

garrulus in laxo cur anulus orbe vagatur?
cedat ut argutis obvia turba trochis.

170 signum Victoriae aurum

haec illi sine sorte datur cui nomina Rhenus
vera dedit. deciens adde Falerna, puer.

171 Βροῦτον παῖδιόν fictile

gloria tam parvi non est obscura sigilli:
istius pueri Brutus amator erat.

172 Sauroctonos Corinthius

ad te reptanti, puer insidiose, lacertae
parce; cupit digitis illa perire tuis.

173 Hyacinthus in tabula pictus

flectit ab invisio morientia lumina disco
Oebalius, Phoebi culpa dolorque, puer.

174 Hermaphroditus marmoreus

masculus intravit fontis: emersit utrumque:
pars est una patris, cetera matris habet.

175 Danae picta

cur a te pretium Danae, regnator Olympi,
accepit, gratis si tibi Leda dedit?

<>

176 persona Germana

sum figuli lusus russi persona Batavi.
quae tu derides, haec timet ora puer.

177 Hercules Corinthius

elidit geminos infans nec respicit anguis.
iam poterat teneras Hydra timere manus.

178 Hercules fictilis

sum fragilis: sed tu, moneo, ne sperne sigillum:
non pudet Alciden nomen habere meum.

179 Minerva argentea

dic mihi, virgo ferox, cum sit tibi cassis et hasta,
quare non habeas aegida. 'Caesar habet'.

180 Europe picta

mutari melius tauro, pater optime divum,
tunc poteras Io cum tibi vacca fuit.

181 Leandros marmoreus

clamabat tumidis audax Leandros in undis:
'mergite me, fluctus, cum rediturus ero'.

182 sigillum gibberi fictile

ebrius haec fecit terris, puto, monstra Prometheus:
Saturnalicio lusit et ipse luto.

183 Homeri Batrachomachia

perlege Maeonio cantatas carmine ranas
et frontem nugis solvere disce meis.

184 Homerus in pugillaribus membranis

Ilias et Priami regnis inimicus Ulixes
multiplici pariter condita pelle latent.

185 Vergili Culex

accipe facundi Culicem, studiose, Maronis,
ne nucibus positis 'arma virumque' legas.

186 Vergilius in membranis

quam brevis inmensum cepit membrana Maronem!
ipsius vultus prima tabella gerit.

187 Μεγάλη του Θάϊς

hac primum iuvenum lascivos lusit amores;
nec Glycera pueri, Thais amica fuit.

188 Cicero in membranis

si comes ista tibi fuerit membrana, putato
carpere te longas cum Cicerone vias.

189 monobyblos Properti
Cynthia, facundi carmen iuvenale Properti,
accepit famam, nec minus ipse dedit.

190 Titus Livius in membranis
pellibus exiguis artatur Livius ingens,
quem mea non totum bibliotheca capit.

191 Sallustius
hic erit, ut perhibent doctorum corda virorum,
primus Romana Crispus in historia.

192 Ovidi Metamorphosis in membranis
haec tibi, multiplici quae structa est massa tabella,
carmina Nasonis quinque decemque gerit.

193 Tibullus
ussit amatorem Nemesis lasciva Tibullum,
in tota iuvit quem nihil esse domo.

194 Lucanus
sunt quidam qui me dicant non esse poetam:
sed qui me vendit bybliopola putat.

195 Catullus
tantum magna suo debet Verona Catullo,
quantum parva suo Mantua Vergilio.

196 Calvi de aquae frigidae usu
haec tibi quae fontes et aquarum nomina dicit,
ipsa suas melius charta natabit aquas.

197 mulae pumilae
his tibi de mulis non est metuenda ruina:
altius in terra paene sedere soles.

198 catella Gallicana
delicias parvae si vis audire catellae,
narranti brevis est pagina tota mihi.

199 Asturco
hic brevis ad numeros rapidum qui colligit unguem,
venit ab auriferis gentibus Astur equus.

200 canis vertragus
non sibi sed domino venatur vertragus acer,
inlaesum leporem qui tibi dente feret.

201 palaestrita
non amo quod vincit, sed quod succumbere novit
et didicit melius τὴν ἐπικλινοπάλην.

202 simius

callidus emissas eludere simius hastas,
si mihi cauda foret, cercopithecus eram.

203 puella Gaditana

tam tremulum crisat, tam blandum prurit, ut ipsum
masturbatorem fecerit Hippolytum.

204 cymbala

aera Celaenaeos lugentia Matris amores
esuriens Gallus vendere saepe solet.

205 puer

sit nobis aetate puer, non pumice levis,
propter quem placeat nulla puella mihi.

206 cestos

collo necte, puer, meros amores,
ceston de Veneris sinu calentem.

207 idem

sume Cytheriaco medicatum nectare ceston:
ussit amatorem balteus iste Iovem.

208 notarius

currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis:
nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus.

209 concha

levis ab aequorea cortex Mareotica concha
fiat: inoffensa curret harundo via.

210 morio

non mendax stupor est nec fingitur arte dolosa.
quisquis plus iusto non sapit, ille sapit.

211 caput vervecinum

mollia Phrixei secuisti colla mariti.
hoc meruit tunicam qui tibi, saeve, dedit?

212 pumilus

si solum spectes hominis caput, Hectora credas:
si stantem videas, Astyanacta putes.

213 parma

haec, quae saepe solet vinci, quae vincere raro,
parma tibi, scutum pumilionis erit.

214 comoedi pueri

non erit in turba quisquam Μισούμενος ista:
sed poterit quivis esse Δις ἑξαπατῶν.

215 fibula

dic mihi simpliciter, comoedis et citharoedis,
fibula, quid praestas? 'carius ut futuant'.

216 auceps

non tantum calamis sed cantu fallitur ales,
callida dum tacita crescit harundo manu.

217 accipiter

praedo fuit volucrum: famulus nunc aucupis idem
decipit et captas non sibi maeret aves.

218 opsonator

dic quotus et quanti cupias cenare nec unum
addideris verbum: cena parata tibi est.

219 cor bubulum

pauper causicus nullos referentia nummos
carmina cum scribas, accipe cor quod habes.

220 cocus

non satis est ars sola coco: servire palatum
nolo: cocus domini debet habere gulam.

221 craticula cum veribus

rara tibi curva craticula sudet ofella;
spumeus in longa cuspidum fumet aper.

222 pistor dulciarius

mille tibi dulces operum manus ista figuras
extruet: huic uni parca laborat apis.

223 adipata

surgite: iam vendit pueris ientacula pistor
cristataeque sonant undique lucis aves.

14.1

While the equestrian and lordly senator rejoice in dinner dress, and while the adoption of the freedman's cap befits our Jupiter, and the homebred slave does not fear to look at the aedile while shaking the dice-box when he sees the icy waters so near, [5] receive the alternated presents of rich and poor men: let each give to his table companion gifts suited to his means. 'They are trifles and a distraction and whatever is meaner than those'. Who does not know this? Or who denies what is so obvious? But what should I rather do, Saturn, on the drunken days [10] which your son himself gave you in return for heaven? Do you want me to write of Thebes or Troy or evil Mycenae? 'Play with nuts' you say. I don't want to lose my nuts.

1 f.: For the equality indicated in these lines, cf. Stat. Silv. 1.6.43 ff. 'una vescitur omnis ordo mensa,/ parvi, femina, plebs, eques, senatus:/ libertas reverentiam remisit', Lucian Sat. 17.

1 synthesibus: leisure garb with matching tunic and pallium, not normally worn in public, except at the Saturnalia; hence the critical Suet. Nero 51: 'circa cultum...adeo pudendus, ut...synthesinam indutus...prodierit in publicum sine cinctu et discalcitus'. Contrast Mart. 6.24.1-2 'nil lascivius est Charisiano:/ Saturnalibus ambulat togatus'. In general, see Wilson Clothing pp.169 ff. The garment was worn by senators at the celebratory convivium publicum held before the temple of Saturn: Intro. 'Saturnalia' section B.

gaudet: The toga was uncomfortable (cf. Mart. 12.18.5 'sudatrix toga') and symbolised every-day business chores. Hence the joy at putting it aside; see Kay at Mart. 11.16.2 and cf. Pliny Ep. 5.6.45, 7.3.2, Sen. Ep. 18.2, Mart. 10.47.5. The synthesis symbolised Saturnalian freedom: see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section C.

equus dominusque senator: Domitian was 'dominus et deus': Mart. 5.8.1 'edictum domini deique nostri', 7.34.8, 9.66.3, Suet. Dom. 13.2. The title dominus was applied to emperors from the time of Gaius: [Aur. Vict.] Epit. 3.8; cf. Coleman at Stat. Silv. 4 praef. 27. It is used of Domitian at Mart. 9.20.2. Given the rôle reversal between master and slave at the Saturnalia (see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section C), the word is used appropriately here not of Domitian but senators. (<Dominus was not commonly used in literature of senators; ThLL V(1).1929.32 s.v. dom(i)nus [I.Kapp] cites in addition only Vopisc. Aurelianus 41.2. For inscriptional evidence, see ThLL V(1).1908.35, 1909.25. s.v. dom(i)nus [I.Kapp].)

2: Pillea sumpta, with dumque, balances synthesibus. For the pilleum, see Kay at Mart. 11.6.4 'pilleata Roma'; cf. Intro. 'Saturnalia' section C: the cap of freedom was usually worn by newly manumitted slaves, but also symbolised Saturnalian licence (<R.E. XX(2).1329 ff. s.v. pilleus [R.Kreis-von Schaewen], D-S IV(1) p. 481 col. 2 s.v. pileus/-um [Pierre Paris]), when it was worn by all as a mark of equality. Dum...decent indicates that it was not always appropriate imperial apparel.

On the use of participial phrases as substitutes for substantival clauses, see Woodcock §95, H-Sz. II p.393 f.

nostrum...Iovem: For Domitian's identification with Jupiter, cf. Mart. 8.15.2 'reducem...Iovem', 8.24.4, 9.28.10 'sui...Iovis'; see Scott Ch. 10, esp. pp. 134 ff., Sullivan p.142. Domitian is tonans at Mart. 6.10.9, 7.56.4, 9.1, 9.39.1, 65.1, 86.7; cf. 13.74. When presiding at festival games, Domitian would be accompanied by the priest of

Capitoline Jupiter and that of the deified Flavians, who wore the same costumes as he save that their crowns were decorated with his likeness as well as those of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva.

For rejection of Pitcher's attempt to date Book 14 from these words, see Intro. 'Date'.

M. has been criticised for flattering Domitian (further flattery at Mart. 14.34, 124, 170, 179), especially given his subsequent flattery of Nerva and Trajan; but such criticism takes insufficient account of the times in which he lived (see Ker p.xiv, Ronald Martin, Tacitus, London 1981, ch.2), and he would probably not have been censured by his contemporaries, nor should he be by those of us who have not lived in similar times. Secondly, one should not forget the existence of an encomiastic literary tradition (for which see Coleman at Stat. Silv. 4.1, i.e. p.64).

3 nec timet aedilem moto spectare fritillo, / ... verna: Dicing for money was illegal at Rome, except at the Saturnalia: see Kay at Mart. 11.6.2, citing Ulp. dig. 11.5.2 f., Cic. Phil. 2.56, Hor. Carm. 3.24.58; see also Balsdon LL. p.154: penalties ranged from four times the wager to exile, and Carter at Suet. Aug. 71.1. For Roman dice games, see at Mart. 14.15 below; cf. 14.14. Dicing was a favourite recreation of Domitian (Suet. Dom. 21).

The laws against gambling were enforced by the aediles: cf. Mart. 5.84.5 'aedilem rogat udus aleator'. For the aedile's law enforcement duties, see D-S I(1) p.97 col. 1 f. s.v. aediles [G.Humbert], R.E. I.454.7 ff. s.v. aedilis [Kubitschek].

fritillo: onomatopoeic for a dice box; see at Mart. 14.16.1*e*. below; cf. Mart. 11.6.2 'unctis falciferi senis diebus,/ regnator quibus inperat fritillus,/ versu ludere non laborioso/ permittis, puto, pilleata Roma', 13.1.7. The word survives in M. only in Saturnalian contexts, and is post-Augustan (Colton p.265).

verna: Cf. A.L. 391.47-8 'aurea nunc revocet Saturno festa December:/ nunc tibi cum domino ludere, verna, licet'. The home-grown slave was often given preferential treatment by his master: Blümner Priv. p.288, Howell at Mart. 1.41.2, Courtney at Juv. 14.169; cf. Mart. 10.3.1, Hor. Serm. 2.6.66 'vernasque procaces', Sen. Dial. 1.1.6 'vernularum licentia'. Of the servile population, he would have been most likely to benefit from Saturnalian freedoms: cf. Mart. 14.54.1 vernula below.

4 cum videat gelidos tam prope...lacus: As indicated above, gambling was illegal except at the Saturnalia, when normal forms of punishment did not apply; cf. Mart. 14.79 below; see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section C. Hence the slave has no fear of the aedile here. He is, however, subject to the law of the Saturnalian king, who could sentence one to an icy dunking. Such wettings were standard at the Saturnalia; not even Kronos escaped: note Lucian Sat. 2: ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὠθεῖσθαι, ἀσβόλῳ κεχρισμένον τὸ πρόσωπον; cf. Sat. 4 where clumsy service at table is punished in this way. Gelidos...lacus therefore symbolises the legal order of the Saturnalia, as opposed to that of the rest of the year.

Tam prope suggests that the Saturnalia has not quite arrived, but that some liberty is being taken because the festival is as good as come.

C's iam would make sense, but does not indicate as forcefully that the festival is sufficiently close for premature licence to be excused.

Similar to dunking in water are the activities at Petr. 22.1 where the drunken Ascyllus is first blackened with soot and then painted with wine lees.

5: Divitis alternas et pauperis accipe sortes refers to the alternation in Book 14 of poems describing cheap and expensive gifts; see Intro. 'Order'. Although here sortes refers to M's poems and, by extension, to the gifts they describe, sortes can also refer to lottery tickets (cf. Suet. Aug. 75; see OLD s.v. sors §1c). Apophoreta were commonly distributed by lot; cf. Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D.

6 praemia convivae det sua quisque suo: Martial, being a poor poet, gives the verses of Book 14 to his table companion, or so accipe (line 5) would suggest; cf. Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and n. 19 ('praemia...sua' indicates gifts appropriate to the giver's means; for praemium meaning donum, see L-S s.v. praemium §B1, Ter. Eun. 1057). Others, it might be suggested, could plunder Book 14 for gifts (and poems describing them) suitable to their financial status: a poor man would give a cheap gift, a rich an expensive one (cf. Lucian Sat. 16 where it is decreed that a poor man be punished for giving beyond his means). That M. intended his book to be plundered was no doubt partly the case, but despite his self-denigration (see lines 7-8 below), he would have regarded Book 14 principally as a literary work, and the alternation of cheap and expensive gifts has chiefly to do with the artistic arrangement of a composite whole (cf. Lausberg p.453).

det B^{CC}: dent A[^]. Quisque often takes a plural verb (see L-S s.v. quisque; for the generalising singular with plural verb, see H-Sz II pp. 432-3). But det conforms with M's practice elsewhere of using a singular with quisque (Shackleton Bailey cites Mart. 4.30.7, 7.60.3, 9.55.4, 10.87.19, 11.60.5).

7-8: These lines describe M's sortes, i.e. the poems in Book 14. For the self-denigration often found in M's poems, in keeping with the epigrammatic tradition, see Kay p.52, his index s.vv. 'affected modesty', Sullivan pp.60 ff. and at Mart. 14.2 below.

Light-weight verse was appropriate to the Saturnalia; see Intro. 'Metre' on M's hendecasyllables, Kay at Mart. 11.6.3 'versu ludere non laborioso; cf. the amusing mock-didactic pieces listed by Ovid at Trist. 2.471 ff.; cf. also Mart. 7.28.7-8 and 11.15; contrast the epics at line 11 which are inappropriate to the Saturnalia.

7 apinae tricaeque: Cf. Howell and, in greater detail, Citroni at Mart. 1.113.2, where apinae is also used of literary trifles. The origin and etymology of the word is uncertain, although an explanation of it, and of tricae, is attempted by Pliny, Nat. 3.104: 'Diomedes ibi (in Apulia) delevit...urbes duas, quae in proverbii ludicrum vertere, Apinam et Tricam'. For other surviving explanations of tricae, cf. e.g. Non. 8M 'tricae sunt impedimenta et implicationes; et intricare, impedire, morari', CGL V.624.17, 648.6. Although its etymology is uncertain, the word can perhaps best be taken, following Nonius, to mean something like 'distraction' or 'time-waster'.

et si quid vilius istis: Cf. Catul. 13.10 'seu quid suavius elegantiusve est' and Fordyce ad loc., 82.2 'aut aliud si quid carius est oculis', 22.13, 42.14.

8 vel quis tam manifesta negat: Cf. Mart. 2.8.7 'quasi nos manifesta negemus'. The repetitive quis prepares the way for 'sed quid agam potius...?'.
 9 sed quid agam potius: M. begins a recusatio of sorts, which culminates in line 12.

madidis diebus: For drinking at the Saturnalia, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section C, Kay at Mart. 11.6.1 'unctis...diebus'; cf. Sen. Ep. 18.4 'ebrio ac vomitante populo', Hor. Serm. 2.3.5, Mart. 11.6.9 ff., 13.1.4. At Lucian Sat. 2, Kronos is allowed to drink and get drunk; cf. 9, 25. At Mart. 13.2.10, we learn that appreciation of M's poems is enhanced by drink. (I take him to refer here to the Saturnalian distichs of Book 13 in particular).

Madeo is often used of wine and drunkenness: ThLL VIII.34.18 ff. s.v. madeo [Richter].

Saturne: This apostrophe suggests that Saturn has a right to dictate what happens at his festival; cf. Kronosolon, the Saturnalian law-giver's legislation in Lucian Sat. Although Kronosolon does not forbid the writing of poetry (note Sat. 13), however, light verse in any case being particularly suitable (lines 7-8 n. above), it would appear that Saturn would rather M. diced for nuts.

10 quos tibi pro caelo filius ipse dedit?: Cf. Mart. 12.62.15 'tuo...Decembri', i.e. Saturn's. Filius ipse is Jupiter, son of Saturn, who is identified with Kronos. Jupiter is therefore identified here with Zeus (for the identification of Saturn and the Saturnalia with Kronos and the Kronia, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' sections A and C).

Zeus usurped his father's power by force (for the succession myth, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section A, M.L. West, Hsd Theog., p.19; cf. Lucian Sat. 5). This line is therefore humorous in suggesting that the days of the Saturnalia were granted to Saturn by Zeus in return for heaven, as if part of a transaction: Saturn had no option but to step down.

Given that Jupiter took power by force, it would have been surprising for him then to have granted his father a few days in control each year - were the role reversal of emperor and senators in lines 1-2 not paralleled in Heaven: Jupiter himself (ipse) observes the convention.

At Sat. 6, the satirical Lucian contradicts the usual tradition, having Kronos assert 'ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐπολεμήσαμεν οὔτε ὁ Ζεὺς βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐκόντος δέ μου παραδόντος αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπεκστάντος ἄρχει, the reason for his abdication being that he was too old to cope with the demands made on him by the new generation (Sat. 7). Nevertheless, he retained a few days of rule each year (ibid.) to remind people of what life had been like when he was sovereign.

pro caelo: Zeus ruled heaven after Kronos ceded power, Hades the underworld and Poseidon the sea.

11 Thebas Troiamve malasve Mycenae: Instead of '...ve...ve' (T), C^A has '...que...que'. This is clearly wrong: M. does not mean a universal epic

centred around three heroic cities. Rather, he is adopting a high tone in listing alternatives to the light verse he has written in accordance with Saturnalian conventions (see lines 7-8 n. above). B^A's '...ve...que' is understandable in that there were two main epic cycles, the Theban and the Trojan, and that Mycenae is closely linked via Agamemnon with the latter (malas might refer to Agamemnon's assassination). But there is no reason why there could not have been a separate Agamemnon epic (as was possibly the case in the Cyprian and Cycladic epics against whose background the Iliad was composed: see Kl.P. 1.111.53 ff. s.v. Agamemnon [H.v.Geisaul]). Further, even if there were not, it is more effective and accords better with M's rhetorical stance to have a list of three rather than two. T's reading is clearly the most satisfactory.

Given that Statius and M. never mention one another directly, hostility has been suspected between the two, and lines 11-12 have been considered a possible rejection by M. of the things that Statius stood for. See especially Friedländer's Intro., pp.9, 21, SG. III p.65: Statius worked on his Thebaid between 80 and 92 and would have given recitations during that period. Evidently these were successful, and Juvenal's reaction (7.82 ff.) might have echoed M's (for further discussion of possible hostility between Statius and M., see Hardie p.57, Sullivan pp. 73 n. 32, 114). M. deprecates epic also at e.g. Mart. 4.49, 8.3, 9.50, 10.4.

12 'Lude', inquis, 'nucibus': perdere nolo nucibus: The reintroduction of dicing (cf. line 3) allows an element of ring-composition to appear. Dicing for nuts was a common Saturnalian activity; cf. Mart. 5.30.8

quoted below, 14.19 below and see le. n. It was lightly viewed: for the insignificance of Saturnalian nuts, see Mart. 7.91.2, 14.19.1. Instead of composing light verse, M. is required here not to write weighty poetry but to play with nuts. This appeals to his talents as little as does writing epic, however; and while writing Saturnalian verse and playing with nuts are both trivial, at least the former entails no loss, however insubstantial.

M's rejection of nuts for light verse finds expression also at Mart. 13.1.5-8:

non mea magnanimo depugnat tessera telo,
senio nec nostrum cum cane quassat ebur:
haec mihi charta nuces, haec est mihi charta fritillus:
alea nec damnum nec facit ista lucrum.

Observe also Mart. 5.30.5 ff.:

sed lege fumosa non aspernanda Decembri
carmina, mittuntur quae tibi mense suo,
commodius nisi forte tibi potiusque videtur
Saturnalicias perdere, Varro, nuces.

There, and at Mart. 14.185.2, light reading matter is set against nuts.

14.2

You can finish this booklet where you like and when: every work is unfolded in two verses. If you ask why lemmata are added, I will tell you: so that, if you prefer, you may read the lemmata alone.

For such statements in M., cf. 1 praef. 12 ff. 'si quis tamen tam ambitiose tristis est ut apud illum in nulla pagina latine loqui fas est, potest epistola vel potius titulo contentus esse', 10.1.4 'fac tibi me quam cupis ipse brevem', 13.3.7-8 'addita per titulos sua nomina rebus habebis:/ praetereas, si quid non facit ad stomachum'; see

Lausberg p.52. Contrast Mart. 8.29: 'disticha qui scribit, puto, vult brevitate placere. / quid prodest brevitās, dic mihi, si liber est?'.
 .

1 finire: Finis is used of the end of a letter vel sim. (OLD s.v. finis §12a). It is picked up by explicitum est (line 2), for which cf. Mart. 11.107.1-2 'explicitum nobis usque ad sua cornua librum/ et quasi perlectum, Septiciane, refers' and see ThLL V(2).1727.69 ff. s.v. explico [Hiltbrunner]. (Hence explicit, often penned by scribes at the end of a roll.)

libellum: E.T.Sage observes that M. sometimes uses libellus for liber ('The publication of Martial's poems', TAPhA 50(1919) p.168). Coleman adds (Stat. Silv. 4, p.226) that libellus is always used thus with deprecatory/ apologetic sense; cf. Mart. 5.2.5-6, contrasting the first four books (<libellos>) with the fifth (<liber>). M. is more explicitly dismissive of the Apophoreta's worth at Mart. 14.1.7-8, q.v. ad loc.

2: Opus is used of a literary work: OLD s.v. opus §9c, L-S s.v. opus §11B2; cf. Mart. 8 praef.5 'hic (sc. libellus) tamen, qui operis nostri octavus inscribitur,...'. Usually this work would be of substance: cf. Ovid Ars. 3.338 (of the Aeneid): 'nullum Latio clarius extat opus', 3.414 'Ilias, aeternum...opus'; see ThLL IX.849.68 ff. s.v. opus [Ehlers]. Stat. Silv. 1 praef.8 ff. 'nec quisquam est inlustrum poetarum qui non aliquid operibus suis stilo remissiore praeluserit' points the contrast between minor works and major ones. M. here suggests, with ironic humour (especially after libellus), that each couplet is a literary masterpiece.

3-4: These lines appear as a new epigram in C^A; cf. T's joining Mart. 14.2 onto the end of Mart. 14.1 (put right by Schryver). Evidently scribes were puzzled by this four line composition after the introductory poem, given 'versibus explicitum est omne duobus opus', line 2.

3 lemmata: For discussion, see Kay at Mart. 11.42.2: lines 3-4 show that lemmata were not normally attached to epigrams in M's day, and guarantee the genuineness of the lemmata in Book 14. Lindsay notes (Anc. Ed. p.37) that '...use of title-headings was a necessity, in order that a donor might find without difficulty the couplet which would suit the present he thought of giving', although this assumes that the book was intended primarily as a reference compilation for dipping into rather than a composite literary work; cf. Mart. 14.1.6 n.

Lausberg, p. 53, correctly identifies in M's provision of lemmata a further element of ironic humour (after opus). The distich was the shortest possible type of poem, requiring no great effort to read, and one assumes that someone taking up a book of such poems is prepared to expend what little energy is needed to get through them. Yet M. supplies lemmata nonetheless, sparing his reader the need even for this exertion when perusing his work.

With M's lemmata, cf. the pittacia of Petr. 56.7, Suet. Aug. 75 'titulis obscuris et ambiguis'. Although they are not obscure or riddling themselves, they often explain what epigrams, which might otherwise well be puzzling, actually describe. Note e.g. Mart. 14.52, 57, 84, 91, 122, 133, 136, 147, 152, 154, 187, 191, 217; see Lausberg p. 358.

adscripta: usual of adding a title (or date/signature to a letter); see OLD s.v. ascribo §1b (Shackleton Bailey and others would have ascripta here; cf. the pun on adsum and assum at Plaut. Poen. 279. Whether M. would actually have written as-, for all he might have said it, appears doubtful, however: see Lindsay Orth. Mart. p. 41).

14.3 Writing Tablets of Citron Wood

Were we not wood cut into slim tablets, we would be the noble burden of a Libyan tusk.

le. pugillares citrei: Writing tablets 'small enough to be held in one's hand' are commonly referred to: see OLD and L-S s.v. pugillaris; cf. Fordyce at Catul. 42.5 pugillaria, Blümner Priv. p. 468 n.12. Note too 14.5, 7 and 184 - of a (handy) parchment codex.

This poem begins a series on writing tablets, common Saturnalian gifts: note Mart. 7.53.3 (in a list of such gifts) 'bis senos triplices'. At Petr. 56.9, tabulae feature as apophoreta in Trimalchio's lottery: '"cenatoria et forensia": offlam et tabulas accepit'. That writing tablets are intended in Petronius seems likely, although Ullman is not convinced. He notes (p.352) that tabulae might also be associated with games boards and paintings. Both can be found amongst M's apophoreta (14.17, 173).

Citron wood writing tablets appear also at Pers. 1.53, Paul dig. 19.1.21.2.

1 in tenues...tabellas: It is clear that these are not wax tablets, but rather wooden ones (ligna) to be inscribed with ink, such as those

discovered at Vindolanda; see Coleman in detail at Stat. Silv. 4.9.41 'tenuis...codicillos'.

2 essemus Libyci nobile dentis onus: Tables comprised two distinct parts, a central support (trapezophorus) and a top (orbis). They ranged from the very ordinary to the very expensive. For citron wood tables see at Mart. 14.89, 91 below. They were especially valued since the tree, a kind of cypress (*thuja articulata*) growing on Mount Atlas (cf. Mart. 14.89.1), seldom grew large enough for its wood to make a table-top (Friedländer SG. II p.203). The base of a citron table was invariably ivory - hence 'Libyci...dentis'; see at Mart. 14.91 dentes eborei below. For a Libyan elephant, cf. Luc. 6.208.

The writing tablets of this epigram derive their exceptional value from the fact that the wood from which they were made had obviously been originally suitable (both in size and quality - 'nobile...onus') for table tops (nisi, line 1), but had instead been cut, extravagantly, into small thin leaves. At any rate, that is their boast.

14.4 Fivefold tablets

The master's blessed forecourt grows warm with the slaughter of bullocks when high honour is granted by five-fold tablets.

ie. quinquiplices: See Blümner Priv. p. 468 n. 13, Paoli p.181: normally several wax tablets were bound together by thongs through holes in the edges. These cerae were called duplices (used by lawyers: Ovid Rem. 667), triplices, etc. according to the number of component tablets; cf. the Greek names δίπτυχα; τρίπτυχα; πολύπτυχα. Roberts and Skeat, p.12, record that the word caudex or codex denoted multiple tablets (cf.

codicilli below) and note that the maximum number of tablets to survive joined together is nine (from a codex originally comprising ten).

While five tablets must often have been joined, quinquiplices survives (surprisingly) only here. These tablets inform the recipient of his promotion, presumably to the consulship (altus honos; for codicilli of appointment, see F. Millar, The Emperor in the Roman World, London 1977, p. 288) - hence the celebratory sacrifice. It is remotely possible that a book of five tablets was customarily used to inform people of their political promotions, but, if so, this is the only evidence. For altus of rank, see OLD s.v. altus §11b.

For the adlection of equites to the senate and for that of senators to the higher grades, see Millar op. cit. pp. 290 ff. As to the criteria used by Domitian for the adlection of senators we are almost entirely ignorant: Garzetti p. 276.

There is nothing in this epigram to indicate value. Given the undoubted value of Mart. 14.3 pugillares citrei and 14.5 pugillares eborei, one must assume the quinquiplices to be cheap.

1 caede iuvenorum domini calet ara felix: Sacrifice of more bullocks than one by an individual indicates joy indeed (cf., however, Mart. 8.66.1 victimisque). Even on state occasions, one was generally enough, even for Juno or Jupiter: cf. Juv. 6.48, 10.53, 12.3; see John Ferguson, The Religions of the Roman Empire, London 1974 repr., plate 72. At Mart. 9.42.10 only one victim is offered, but this is to celebrate someone else's promotion.

Calet is similarly used of growing warm with sacrificial blood at V. FL. 2.331 'calet ara iuvenca'.

The area was the forecourt of a building, often a temple, and was therefore an appropriate place for sacrifices: cf. CIL 1.698. line 5 (of the Temple of Serapis), Livy 9.46.6 (of the Temple of Vulcan) and see OLD s.v. area §1b, Ferguson loc.cit., R.M.Ogilvie, The Romans and their Gods, London 1969, pp.45 ff. Its use here, however, is probably also metonymical of the house itself (cf. the uses of limen at OLD s.v. limen §2c), blessed (felix) by the emperor.

domini: The Loeb's translation 'our master' suggests that this epigram is spoken by a slave. Rather than introduce needlessly an extra personality, it is better to take dominus to refer not to anyone's master in particular, but merely to the newly elevated owner of the area where the celebratory sacrifice is held.

14.5 Ivory Tablets

Lest dark wax-tablets dim your weary eyes, let black letters stain snow-white ivory for you.

1e. pugillares ebori: Ivory tablets would certainly be more expensive than wooden ones. Since only this reference to ivory tablets appears to survive, they cannot have been common (G.Godwin, The Archaeological Journal 10(1853), p.83, describes ivory wax-tablets from the 14th Century; cf. those from Nimrud, dated to 707-705 B.C., mentioned by Roberts and Skeat, p.11 n.2. The tablets referred to here, however, are not wax-coated. Rather, one wrote with ink directly onto the ivory.

On pugillares, see Mart. 14.3. 1e. n. above. C^a's reading EBOREI (EBURNEI A^aB^a) is rightly favoured by editors; cf. Mart. 14.12. 1e., 14 1e., 83 1e., 91 1e. While ebur is fairly frequent, its adjectival form is not.

1 languida...lumina: Cf. Mart. 14.7 below: Quint., Inst. 10.3.31, thinks that parchment is good for weak eyes: 'scribi optime ceris, in quibus facillima est ratio delendi, nisi forte visus infirmior membranarum potius usum exiget, quae ut iuvant aciem, ita crebra relatione, quoad intinguntur calami, morantur manum et cogitationis impetum frangunt'. It could be that M. intended 14.5 and 7 to be associated with one another.

obscurant: See OLD s.v. obscurus s2a; cf. Pliny Nat. 8.99 'hiberna latebra visu obscurato', Scrib. Largus 99 'quibus subitis tenebris obscurantur oculi'.

Optical spectacles were unknown at Rome (Paoli p.217) and failing eyesight posed a problem. Nero, who had very poor sight, used an emerald for watching gladiatorial shows (Pliny Nat. 37.64), but not all could afford such aids. Good eyesight was (not surprisingly) highly valued, and eyes therefore came to feature in endearments. See Fordyce and Ellis at Catul. 3.5; cf. Catul. 104.2.

tristes...cerae: The wax for tablets was dark in colour, being either red or black: Roberts and Skeat p.12; cf. Ovid Am. 1.12.12 'color...sanguinolentus' (probably a deep red).

Although whitish against this background, stylus scratches on such wax are not very easily visible (cf. the surviving exx. in the Egypt section, Ash., and see Roberts and Skeat Plate I), and eyestrain is an understandable problem.

2 nigra littera: The blackness of ink on white ivory would have been easily visible (cf. the red ink or dye on ivory signifying a blush at

Ovid Am. 2.5.40; also Verg. A. 12.67).

Roman ink was usually black - hence its name atramentum. It comprised various ingredients such as soot, resin, wine lees, and the black liquid from cuttle fish. (Red ink was used only for rubrics. At Ovid Ars 3.627-8, an invisible ink is described for use when writing love-letters.) In general, see Paoli p.178 f.

While permanent ink was known, that used here would have been washable to allow the tablet's reuse (on washable ink, see Mart. 14.7.2 n. below).

14.6 Three-leaved Tablets

You will then think my three-leaved tablets no cheap gift when a girl writes that she is coming to you.

le. triplices: A lover would send an invitation to his girl on triplices or pugillares, and she would write her reply on the same tablet; note Blümner Priv. p.468 n.13, Marquardt Prl. p.804 n.6; cf. Mart. 14.8 below; also Ovid Am. 1.11.23-4 'quid digitos opus est graphio lassare tenendo?/ hoc habeat scriptum tota tabella "veni"', contrasting 1.12 where the girl declares herself unable to come. (For veni, cf. line 2 below.)

1 Triplices were not normally highly valued, as is clearly implied by this epigram; cf. Mart. 7.72.1-2, 4-5 'gratus sic tibi, Paule, sit December/ nec vani triplices...ferat...aut grandis reus aut potens amicus', 10.87.6 'vani triplices', 7.53.3. Their value increases, however, if they bring news of a girl-friend's intention to come.

2 venturam: Venire here means specifically 'to come for the purpose of having sex'; cf. Ovid Am. 1.11.5 'saepe venire ad me dubitantem hortata (sc. Nape) Corinnam'; see Adams p.176.

14.7 Parchment tablets

Imagine these to be wax tablets, for all this substance is called parchment: you will rub out whenever you want to change what is written.

le. pugillares membranei: Cf. CIL 10.6.8 'pugillares membranaceos'; see Blümner Priv. p.468 n.12, Roberts and Skeat p.21, n.2 and plate II (a notebook on thin leather from the 2nd Century A.D.). Quint., Inst. 10.3.31 (quoted above at Mart. 14.5.1 n.), mentions parchment notebooks as an alternative to wax tablets. The earliest surviving Greek reference to parchment notebooks is 2 Tim. 4.13, where Paul transliterates the Latin membranae (had he meant parchment rolls, he would have said διφθέραι).

Since the values of gifts in Mart. 14.3-6 and 10-11 alternate, it seems that this epigram must be paired with both 14.8 Vitelliani and 14.9 idem, these poems acting as one for the purpose of the ordering of epigrams. (This principle is employed wherever the lemma idem appears: note Mart. 14.116-7, 124-5, 156-8, 165-6, 168-9, 205-7.) Both Mart. 14.8 and 9 are linked by subject matter to Mart. 14.6, further emphasizing the alternating arrangement.

The value of these parchment tablets is high by position, and it seems reasonable that parchment should cost more than wax.

1: The plural ceras agrees with the lemma. Although haec membrana is singular, it refers not to the tablets so much as the material from which they are made: see Roberts and Skeat p.20.

2 delebis, quotiens scripta novare voles: This line gives justification for regarding parchment tablets like wax ones: erasures are possible from either. In the case of wax, one would smooth over the surface with the reverse end of the stylus (two-timing lovers who did so carelessly often betrayed themselves by leaving legible a note to the other woman: Ovid Ars. 2.395-6, 3.495), while washable ink would have been used on parchment.

Concerning washable ink, see Roberts and Skeat pp. 17, 20, Paoli p.180, Coleman at Stat. Silv. 4.9.7; cf. Hor. Ars 388 f. 'nonumque prematur in annum,/ membranis intus positis: delere licebit/ quod non edideris', Suet. Calig. 20 and Juv. 1.44 (describing Gallic rhetoricians erasing their work by licking), Mart. 4.10.8.

14.8 Vitellian tablets

For all a girl might not yet have read these, she knows what Vitellian tablets desire.

On M's use of hendecasyllables, see Intro. 'Metre'.

le. Vitelliani were a small (Mart. 14.9.1) kind of writing tablet named after their maker; cf. Mart. 2.6.6.

These tablets were frequently used for letters requesting a girl's favours (cf. Mart. 14.9.1 amicae; for such letters, see at Mart. 14.6.le. above). Therefore a girl could well guess what kind of message

they contained.

Ovid describes the process of trying to open a courtship or attracting a lover by letter at Ars 3.469 f. ('verba vadum temptent abiegnis scripta tabellis...'); cf. Ars 1.437 f., Am. 2.2.5-6 'protinus, ut placuit, misi scriptoque rogavi;/ rescripsit trepida "non licet" illa manu'. Sometimes these letters came back unopened; cf. Ars. 1.469 'si non accipiet scriptum inlectumque remittet' - which means that they, like the tablets here, must have been instantly recognisable for what they were. (The unreturned tablets of Catul. 42 might also have originally contained some kind of amorous proposal.)

These tablets would be carried back and forth (if not just forth!) by a slave-girl belonging to the woman, and specially sought out by the infatuated male for her close access to her mistress (she might often have been a hairdresser; see generally, McKeown, Ovid Am. vol. II, p.308; cf. Am. 1.11.1-8, esp. 7; note also Am. 2.19(20).41, Ars 1.383).

2 cupiant: Cupio, commonly of a lover's desire (OLD s.v. cupio §2; cf. s.v. cupidus §5), is here transferred to the tablets.

14.9 The same

Because you see that we are very small, you believe us to be sent to a mistress. You are mistaken: this sort of tablet also asks for money.

le.: This epigram is presumably addressed by the tablets to a casual observer whose attention has perhaps been caught by attempts at their furtive concealment.

Concerning Vitelliani and their use for amorous correspondence, see

Mart. 14.8.le. n. above. Regarding the other use to which they were put, see below.

1 minimos: As to the limited capacity of Vitelliani - room enough just for an epigram or so - cf. Mart. 2.6.6.

2 et nummos...rogat: i.e. as an alternative to sexual favours. Rogo is regular in requests for sex: OLD s.v. rogo 87c, Ovid Am. 2.7.25 'scilicet ancillam, quod erat tibi fida, rogarem', Am. 2.2.5 rogavi. (Nothing on this usage in Adams.)

Rogo is additionally employed of requests for loans, however, e.g. at Plaut. Pers. 39 ff. It seems likely that Vitelliani might have been used for letters requesting money (for which rather demeaning form of correspondence, small tablets might have been considered appropriate). M. makes several financial requests of one form or another (e.g. Mart. 4.37, 8.24, 10.14) and he acknowledges receipt of money on several occasions (e.g. Mart. 4.76, 6.30, 12.36). There can be no doubt that such monetary benefactions were always welcome (compare Sullivan pp. 121 ff., Saller pp. 251 ff.). One cannot help remembering how Pliny funded his return to Spain (Pliny Ep. 3.21).

Regarding cash gifts, see further at Mart. 14.122.le. below.

14.10 Papyrus sheets of the larger kind

There is no reason why you should think the gifts trifling, when a poet gives you blank sheets.

This epigram humorously and ironically implies that these chartae maiores are usually cheap but derive their great value here from the

fact that some poet had not scrawled on them. In fact there is evidence that untouched papyrus was valuable (see Coleman at Stat. Silv. 4.9.7 'novus...charta', who cites Catul. 22.4 ff.), while the position of this epigram in the RP sequence suggests a costly gift.

On hendecasyllables, see Intro. 'Metre'. There is perhaps special point in M's use of them here since he is referring in the epigram specifically to Saturnalian verse (or the welcome lack of it). Then too, they are appropriate to this epigram's particular brand of mockery.

le. chartae maiores: Maiores indicates here that chartae refers not to papyrus rolls, but is used more loosely as a generic term for 'paper'; cf. Mart. 14.11 chartae epistolares below. For the meanings of charta, see Lewis pp.70 ff. Regarding the production and sizes of papyrus sheets, see Reynolds and Wilson p. 2 f.; also Turner p.3 f., Paoli p.175 f.

Gifts of blank papyrus seem to have been common at the Saturnalia: Mart. 5.18.2 (where again M. favourably contrasts empty pages with his 'home grown' poetry); cf. Stat. Silv. 4.9.26. Poeta (line 2) carries important emphasis: the likelihood of a poet (more specifically, of M.) giving blank pages is small - he would want to fill them with scribblings first. Because these sheets are 'of the larger kind', i.e. capable of containing more bad verse than others, the recipient has all the more reason to value their blankness. (For gifts of (bad) literature at the Saturnalia, see at Mart. 14.183-196 and 14.196.2 below.)

1 non...munera...pusilla: Ellis suggests at Catul. 14 that there was possibly a tradition that the recipient of a book of verse at the

Saturnalia was obliged to read it forthwith (cf. perhaps 'continuo ut die periret'), and so a roll of blank papyrus would have been appreciated greatly; cf. Lucian Sat. 16 καὶ τοῦτο λαμβανέτω ὁ πλουσίος πάνυ παιδρῶ τῶ προσώπῳ καὶ λαβὼν ἀναγιγνωσκέτω εὐθύς.

2 vacuas: Cf. Ovid Met. 9.522 'dextra tenet ferrum, vacuum tenet altera ceram', Quint. Inst. 10.3.32, Suet. Nero 17.

14.11 Writing paper

Whether sent to a slight acquaintance or to an old crony, this papyrus customarily calls everyone 'My dear...'.

le. chartae epistolares: Regarding papyrus, see generally at Mart. 14.10. le. above. For chartae epistolares, cf. Ulpian dig. 33.9.3.10. See too Paoli p.176. Blümner, Priv. p.471 n.1, suggests that this writing papyrus was small in area since it is opposed to the chartae maiores of the previous epigram. This does not necessarily follow, but is likely. Pliny, Nat. 13.79-80, notes that the thin paper of Augustus' time continued to be favoured for correspondence.

2 Suos refers to the standard form of epistolary address - e.g. 'C. Plinius Cornelio Tacito suo s.'. But for Trajan (which might have been presumptuous), Pliny addresses nearly everyone as suus. Cicero, however, is not as strict in observing the convention.

14.12 Ivory cashboxes

It is not seemly to fill these cashboxes except with yellow money. Let cheap wooden ones contain silver.

le. loculi eborei: Mayor is characteristically detailed on the loculus at Juv. 1.89 f. 'neque enim loculis comitantibus itur/ ad casum tabulae', a box either of ivory (as here; cf. Ovid Fast. 6.749, Juv. 13.139) or wood (cf. CGL V.418.60 'loculo vase ligneo') which could be locked and was used to contain a variety of valuable items and especially money; cf. also Varro R. 3.7.11, Sen. Nat. 2.31.1, Mart. 5.39.7. General discussion is given by Blümner, Priv. p.130, who refers to D-S III(2) p. 1292 col. 1 f. s.v. loculus [Henry Thédénat] and R.E. XIII.948.9 ff. s.v. loculi [Hug]. Unlike the arca, the loculus was portable.

Both the material of this loculus and the value of the coinage it is to contain declare it a rich man's gift (note line 2 'argentum vilia ligna ferant').

1 hos TB^{AC}: nos R. The emphasis of a demonstrative pronoun is clearly required.

de flava...moneta: i.e. aurei; cf. Mart. 12.65.6 'an de moneta Caesaris decem flavos'; contrast 'nigrae...monetae' of silver at Mart. 1.99.13. The expression appears to survive nowhere else. Implere suggests that this box is so fine that it deserves not only to contain, but to be filled with aurei.

2: Here and at Mart. 14.103, the R gift refers in disparaging terms to the P. At Mart. 14.62 and 104, the P epigram refers to the R epigram in claiming that its gift is as good as the expensive version; cf. Mart. 14.40.

14.13 Wooden cashboxes

Whatever still remains in the bottom of our little money-box, it will be a present. There is nothing? The box itself will be the gift.

le: On wooden loculi and their inferior value, see at Mart. 14.12, noting esp. line 2 'vilis ligna'. A wooden loculus containing a sestertius of Vespasian and a silver coin of indeterminate date and value has been discovered at Herculaneum: see Rediscovering Pompeii, plate 55 and notes.

1 si quid adhuc superest: For the construction, cf. Ovid Met. 2.299-300 'eripe flammis, / si quid adhuc superest, et rerum consule summae'.

in nostri faece locelli: Locellus is the usual diminutive of loculus (cf. Petr. 140.15 'locellos aut sonantes aere sacellos'). It stresses the meagreness of the item. Faex is used usually of the dregs e.g. of wine. Any money to be got from this locellus will entail scraping the bottom. Again indigence is implied (contrast implere at Mart. 14.12.1).

2 nihil est: Cf. Hor. Serm. 1.3.16-17 'quinque diebus / nil erat in loculis'. Since faex, line 1, indicates that the giver is well aware that the locellus could be empty, 'nihil est' is best punctuated here with a question mark of feigned and jocular surprise, followed by the announcement that the box itself is the gift (cf. Loeb text, Budé translation).

14.14-19: These epigrams are associated with board and table games.

14.14 Ivory knucklebones

When no knucklebone falls for you with the same side up, you will decide that I have given you a large present.

le. tali eborei: Schneidewin suggests eburnei, but see at Mart. 14.5.1e. The talus (ἀστράγαλος) was rectangular and block-shaped with rounded ends. Originally used were the pastern bones of the hind leg of cloven-footed animals (Owen at Ovid Trist. 2.473-4). The lowest throw (termed canis, κύων or χῖος) saw all four knucklebones same face up. The best (Venus, Ἀφροδίτη) saw all sides different. Hence the 'munera...magna' (line 2) resulting 'cum steterit nullus vultu tibi talus eodem', since the recipient of this gift might then take his prize.

A game is described at Suet. Aug. 71.2: 'inter cenam lusimus geronticos et heri et hodie: talis enim iactatis, ut quisque canem aut senionem miserat, in singulos talos singulos denarios in medium conferebat, quos tollebat universos, qui Venerem ieceret'; cf. Leary (1990) and bibliography; Leary (1989) at Ovid Ars 3.353 ff. ('parva monere pudet' stresses the game's simplicity). Note the drawing from Herculaneum in ink and marble of a game in progress (MN 9562); cf. Alfonso de Franciscis, The National Archaeological Museum of Naples (guide), Naples n.d., p.57). On such games at the Saturnalia, see Mart. 14.1.3, 12 and notes ad locc.

That these bones are ivory suggests, together with the RP sequence (note Mart. 14.12 'loculi eborei'), that the gift is a rich man's (Butler and Barber are right at Prop. 2.24(A).13-14 'et cupit iratum talos me poscere eburnos, / quaeque nitent sacra vilia dona via' to gloss vilia as worthless, but not cheap).

See Blümner Priv. p.412 n.15 for knucklebones of other materials.

14.15 Dice

Let us dice not equal the number of knucklebones so long as our stake often be higher than that for knucklebones.

le.: Tesserae (κύβοι) were cubic but, despite A.P. 14.8, were not necessarily numbered as our dice, i.e. with opposite numbers totalling 7. Illustrations of dice and dice boxes appear e.g. in A.R. Birley, Hadrians' Wall, London 1963, p.22.

The only grounds for thinking this gift a poor man's are the RP sequence and its being paired with knucklebones of ivory (rather than some other substance).

1 non sim talorum numero par: 3 dice were used (contrast 4 tali): Isid. Orig. 18.64. The highest throw was a triple six (Aesch. Ag. 33). On the game see Leary (1989) at Ovid Ars 3.354 and (1990), with bibliography.

When gambling with dice (cf. with tali: Suet. Aug. 71.2 quoted at Mart. 14.14), each player would stake a value of coin, high or low, to be paid for each pip on the dice, the player with the lowest throw paying up the value of coins corresponding to the difference between his throw and the winner's; cf. Pollux 8.95 τῷ τρυπήματι δὲ τούτῳ, ὃν κύβον παρωνομάσθαι φασί, ἀργυρίου τινὰ ἀριθμὸν ἐπιφημίσαντες καθ' ἑκάστην μονάδα διηρημένην, δραχμὴν ἢ στατήρα ἢ μνᾶν ἢ ὅποσονοῦν, ἔπαιζον τὴν πλειστοβολίνδα καλουμένην παιδίαν.

For dicing at the Saturnalia, see Mart. 14.1.3, 12 and notes above.

Jussive subjunctives like sim are sometimes negated by non: cf. Scip. Orat. 4.3.11 Malcovati 'non igitur simus adversum deos ingrati'; see generally OLD s.v. non 93, H-Sz p.331. The singular (cf. tessera;

contrast the lemma) is no doubt metrical: one would not give a single die as a present.

2: Alea is used of a stake also e.g. at Mart. 4.66.16 'alea...parcae sola fuere nuces'. As Mart. 14.15 demonstrates, the word applies equally to games of dice and knucklebones: see Blümner Priv. p.412; cf. Plaut. Curc. 354 f. 'talos poscit sibi in manum, / provocat me in aleam ut ego ludam'. But one apparently dived for higher stakes than one usually played for with knucklebones; cf. the Loeb ad loc. and Mart. 4.66.15.

14.16 Dice shakers (Turrets)

If the dishonest hand which knows how to throw loaded knucklebones throws using me, it achieves nothing but prayers.

le.: The turricula (cf. Marquardt Prl. p.848) or dice tumbler, here used for knucklebones, was also called a pyrgus: Isid. Orig. 18.61 'de pyrgis: pyrgus dictus quod per eum tesserae pergant sive quod turris speciem habeat. nam Graeci turrem πύργον vocant'. Otherwise, it was called a fritillus: cf. e.g. Mart 4.14.8, 5.84.3, 14.1.3 above, Juv. 14.5, Sen. Apoc. 12.3 verse 318; see D-S II(2) p.1341 col. 2 s.v. fritillus [E.Sagliol], Balsdon LL. p.387 n.107, Colton p.257. The name fritillus is onomatopoeic: to reduce the chances of cheating, the box was rifled within and this caused a rattling sound.

The comparative values of the gifts in Mart. 14.16 and 17 (a probable pair) are hard to discern: see Intro. 'Order'.

1 quae scit compositos manus improba mittere talos: Cf. Isid. Orig. 18.66 'de iactu tesserarum: iactus tesserarum ita a peritis aleatoribus

componitur ut adferat quod voluerit, utputa senionem, qui eis in iactu bonum adfert. vitant autem canem quia damnosus est; unum enim significat'.

Mittere is usual of throwing dice: ThLL VIII.1164.72 ff. s.v. mitto [Fleischer], OLD s.v. mitto 89b, Owen at Ovid Trist. 2.476; cf. Prop. 2.33.26 'an nondum est talos mittere lassa manus', Sen. Apoc. 15.1 'nam quotiens missurus erat resonante fritillo/ utraque...fugiebat tessera'.

Regarding the orthography of inprobis, see Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.43.

2 nil nisi vota facit: Prayers are possibly said over dice boxes at Ovid Ars 3.377, although there is textual difficulty there (see Leary ad loc.).

Shackleton Bailey, p.295, questions Schneidewin's feret (ferret T: facit B^{ACA}), favouring facit and commenting that "'will come away with nothing but prayers' is inept; there was still a chance of a fair win". Since cheating is rendered impossible, the hand (i.e. the player) achieves nothing but prayers. Shackleton Bailey parallels the synecdoche of manus with [Sen.] Herc. Q. 1410-12 'antequam letum mihi/ ignavus aliquis mandet ac turpis manus/ de me triumphet'. In support of facit, he might have observed that the sequence of tenses is more natural with present than future, and he might have quoted Ovid Ars 2.205-6 'seu iacies talos, victam ne poena sequatur,/ damnosi facito stent tibi saepe canes'.

A slight case for feret can be made from Isid. Orig. 18.66 quoted above, which contains the words 'componitur ut adferat quod voluerit'; but on balance, the argument for facit is stronger.

14.17 Games Boards

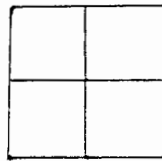
On this side, my board is numbered with twelve markings; on that the coloured counter perishes at the hands of a twin enemy.

le. tabula lusoria: Gaming boards survive in large numbers. This one is marked on both sides, on one for duodecim scripta, a type of backgammon, on the other for latrunculi. Concerning these games, see in general Austin I pp.25 ff., 30 ff., Leary (1990) and bibliography, Leary (1989) at Ovid Ars 3.357-60 and 363-4.

A board marked on both sides has been found at Ostia: CIL XIV.5317. One side is marked for duodecim scripta, thus:

CCCCCC * BBBB
AAAAAA * AAAAAA
DDDDDD * EEEEE

On the other side is found:



The latter markings are probably intended for a game similar to that described at Ovid Ars 3.365-6; cf. Austin II p.79. CIL XIII.3865 (Trier) has a funeral dedication on the reverse of a duodecim board.

1: Tessera refers here not to a die but a board; cf. Non. 170.22M quoted below. This usage appears otherwise unparalleled of a games-board, but is not out of keeping with the word's use for a tablet (e.g. for military orders of the day: OLD s.v. tessera 93) or small square block (OLD s.v. tessera 91); cf. tabula M, an explanatory gloss, and see D-S V

p. 136 col. 2 s.v. tessera [Georges Lafayel: tessera was applied to many objects by the Romans and the difference between a small tabula and a large tessera was slight. Similarly 'bis seno...puncto' refers not to markings on dice but to those on a board marked out for duodecim scripta: cf. Non. 170.22M 'scripta: puncta tessararum. M.Tullius in Hortensio: itaque tibi concedo, quod in XII scriptis solemus, ut calculum redducas, si te alicuius dati paenitet' where dice cannot be meant; cf. Austin I p.31.

With bis seno, cf. Ovid Ars 3.363-4 'est genus in totidem tenui ratione redactum/ scriptula, quot menses lubricus annus habet'. The duodecim scripta board illustrated above actually has 36 markings, but these could be joined up thus: !!!!!*!!!!. (Where markings of 36 letters were used, these often spelled words of caution or advice to players: Austin I p.31.)

2 calculus hac gemino discolor hoste perit: Cf. Ovid Ars 3.357 ff. 'cautaque non stulte latronum proelia ludat,/ unus cum gemino calculus hoste perit/ bellatorque sua prensus sine compare bellat/ aemulus et coeptum saepe recurrit iter', Trist. 2.477 f. 'discolor ut recto grassetur limite miles,/ cum medius gemino calculus hoste perit', Ars 2.207-8.

The game of latrunculi was played on a chequered board: Varro L. 10.22, Austin I p.27 fig. 2. There were normally 8 squares by 8, although dimensions could vary. One took a piece by trapping it between two of one's own; by keeping one's own pieces paired, one could prevent individuals being taken, and also ensured that there were sufficient

pieces at hand when the opportunity for attack arose; cf. Austin I pp.28 ff. on the meaning of mandra, Pollux 8.98.

calculus...discolor: On counters see at Mart. 14.18. Opposing counters were of different colours: Laus Pis. 194.

14.18 Gaming counters

If you play the war-games of robbers in ambush, these pieces of glass will be both your enemy and your men at arms.

le.: Calculus is usually used for gaming pieces: see Owen at Ovid Trist. 2.477-80. While the rich would play with counters (cf. gambling chips), the poor would play for nuts (Mart.14.19; cf. 14.1.12).

1 bella: A reference again (see Mart. 14.17.2, q.v. ad loc.) to latrunculi; cf. 'insidiosorum...latronum'. The game is often described in military terms; here note miles, hostis; cf. Ovid Ars 3.357 ff. 'latronum proelia', bellator, aemulus etc, Laus Pis. 193 ff. passim; see Owen at Ovid Trist. 2.477-80. Comparisons have been made between this game and chess, but to little advantage.

insidiosorum: Great skill was needed to play successfully; cf. Ovid Ars 3.357 'cautaque non stulte', Laus Pis. 193 ff., esp. 197 ff.

2 gemmeus: Most counters referred to are of glass: Mart 7.72.8, Laus Pis. 193, Ovid Ars 2.208; see Austin I p.26. That gemmeus here means 'of glass' is likely; cf. Mart. 8.68.5 where gemma is used of a greenhouse.

Why is the glass piece both miles and hostis to the same player? Miles

is commonly used of one's own pieces, and so is comprehensible here. Hostis is normally used only of enemy pieces. Perhaps 'gemmeus iste' refers collectively to all the pieces on the board; cf. the plural lemma. A gift of just one counter would not be much use.

14.19 Nuts

Nuts seem a small stake and not financially ruinous; often, however, they have carried off boys' backsides.

le. nuces: Nuts were a traditional Saturnalian gift: cf. Mart. 7.91.2. For gambling with nuts, cf. Mart. 5.30.8, 14.1.12, Luc. Sat. 8, in response to questioning as to whether men gambled in Kronos' day: καὶ μάλα, οὐ μὲν περὶ ταλάντων γε καὶ μυριάδων ὥσπερ ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ καρύων τὸ μέγιστον, ὥς μὴ ἀνιάσθαι ἡττηθέντα μηδὲ δακρύειν ἀεὶ ἄσιτον ὄντα μόνον τῶν ἄλλων. Although nuts were not used as counters, but as a kind of money (cf. playing poker for matchsticks), nevertheless, just as the aim in a board game was to take one's opponent's pieces, so, when gambling for nuts, the aim was to win his stake. Thus nuces and calculi are paired.

1: For alea of a stake, see Mart. 14.15.2 n. Damnosa refers here specifically to financial loss; cf. Prop. 4.8.45-6 'me quoque per talos Venerem quaerente secundos/ semper damnosi subsiluire canes', Isid. Orig. 18.66 quoted at Mart. 14.16.1.

Nuces is always plural when referring to playthings (OLD s.v. nux §1b), but operates grammatically as a singular. Hence videntur (P) is wrong while videtur, agreeing with alea parva, is not.

2: Although a small stake involves insignificant risk of loss, nevertheless playing for nuts has proved costly for some: the pueri here are generally assumed to have been late for school after playing for nuts and to have been thrashed (hence natis) in consequence (pueris is dative of disadvantage); cf. Mart. 5.84.1-2 (of the end of the Saturnalia): 'iam tristis nucibus puer relictis/ clamoso revocatur a magistro'. (Gronovius' explanation 'videtur potius turpe aliquid ac nefandum significari' seems improbable.) Corporal punishment at the schools of magistri (who gave elementary education) was severe: see at Mart. 14.80.1 below. Abstulit, regular of carrying off prizes vel. sim. (OLD s.v. aufero §4a), here refers to the pain of a beating.

Nuts are traditionally associated with childish things: cf. Pers. 1.10 'nucibus relictis' of growing up and see Conington who collects references ad loc., e.g. Catul. 61.121 (see Fordyce here), Suet. Aug. 83. (Similarly knucklebones were associated with childhood in Greece: see Headlam at Herodas 3.7, R.E. IIIA.1776.1 ff. s.v. Spielzeug [Hugl.]) Many children's games involved nuts (see Paoli p.232 f.; cf. [Ovid] Nux. 73-86), and it is possible that those accompanying this epigram were intended ultimately to be received by children, for all they might initially have been given to adults (for children's gifts at the Saturnalia, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D, Mohler p.257 and at Mart. 14.35, 54-5, 73-6, 79, 168-9, 176, 179, 213 below).

On completely interchangeable pentameter halves, see Intro. 'Metre'.

14.20 A Writing Case

Having drawn this case by lot, remember to equip it with pens: we have supplied everything else; you provide the cheaper things.

le. theca libraria: The librarius was a copyist or scribe: OLD s.v. librarius³ §1. For the adjectival use of librarius, cf. Vitr. 7.10.2 'ad usum atramenti librarii'. The theca appears e.g. also at Suet. Claud. 35.2 'calamariae et graphiariae thecae' and Amm. Marc. 28.4.13. See too Blümner Priv. p.472, Marquardt Prl. p.825, R.E. VA.1614.56 ff. s.v. Theke [Ensslin]. John Drane, Introducing the New Testament, Oxford-Batavia-Sydney 1986, repr. 1989, p.354, has a clear photograph of a wooden 1st Century case containing six reed pens and an ink-well used for black ink (B.M. EA 43048, of unknown provenance. My thanks to Dr Richard Parkinson.).

The gift is R by position, and the pentameter implies that it is worth something: so precious is it that one supplies one's own pens; contrast the cheap omnibus edition of Mart. 14.21.

1: On Saturnalian lotteries (sortitus), see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and Mart. 14.1.5. The calamus receives further comment below at Mart. 14.38. le. fascēs calamorum, q.v. for its cheapness. Armare is usual of 'equip': OLD s.v. armo §1c; cf. Mart. 14.21.1 armata below.

2: Equal pentameter halves are discussed above: Intro. 'Metre'.

14.21 A style case

These style cases, each armed with iron, are for you. If you give them to your slave, it will be no small gift.

le.: Graphiarium survives here only, although cf. Suet Cl. 35.2 'graphiariae thecae' and CGL II.265.12 γραφιοθήκη, 503.63, 581.41.

Graphium, however, commonly designates a stylus: OLD s.v. See too D-S I(2) p.811 col. 2 s.v. calamus [E.Sagliol].

The singular lemma conflicts with the metrically necessary graphiaria (line 1). Such numerical inconsistency is, however, common in Book 14: cf. e.g. 14.25, 28, 102, 127, 131, 132, 133, 167.

1: Armare means 'equip', as at Mart. 14.20.1, but the military metaphor is brought out more forcefully here by ferro, commonly used of a sword: OLD s.v. ferrum §4. Ferrum occurs of a stylus elsewhere only at Ovid Met. 9.522 'dextra tenet ferrum, vacuum tenet altera ceram': see Bömer ad loc.

2 si puero donec, non leve munus erit: This epigram's gift is P by position. Therefore the graphiarium can be valuable only to one who does not share the values of a free adult. The puer is either a slave or a child (<pueri need not be children: OLD s.v. puer §5a, L-S s.v. puer §III1), or possibly even both; cf. the young and servile recipient at Mart. 14.54, and note the puer notarius described at CIL XIII.8355 (quoted at Mart. 14.208.1e.n.). For children's gifts at the Saturnalia, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and at Mart. 14.19.2 above.

14.22 A tooth-pick

The wood of the mastick is better. But if you lack a leafy point, a feather can relieve your teeth.

1e. dentiscalpium: On dental care at Rome, see in general Ralph Jackson, Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire, London (British Museum) 1988, pp. 118-121. Dirty or bad teeth were considered repulsive (consider

those of Trimalchio's revolting favourite: Petr. 64.6), although the methods of cleaning them were inadequate insurance against decay (even the Emperor Augustus had bad teeth: Suet. Aug. 79.2). They were washed (in the morning: Catul. 39.18-19, quoted at Mart. 14.56 below), picked (cf. Pliny Nat. 30.27) or scrubbed with dentifrice, an abrasive tooth-powder for which see at Mart. 14.56 dentifricium.

The word dentiscalpium survives here and at Mart. 7.53.3 only. The context of these two epigrams suggests that tooth-picks were common Saturnalian gifts; cf. A.P. 6.229 describing a dinner-gift of a quill tooth-pick:

αἰετοῦ ἄγκυλοχέιλου ἀκρόπτερον ὃξὺ σιδήρῳ
 γλυφθέν, καὶ βαπτῇ πορφυρέον κυάνῳ,
 ἣν τι λάθῃ μίμνον μεταδόρπιον ἔντος ὀδόντων,
 κινήσαι πρῆϊ κέντρῳ ἐπιστάμενον,
 βαιὸν ἀπ' οὐκ ὀλίγῃς πέμπει φρενός, οἷα δὲ δαιτὸς
 δῶρον, ὃ πᾶς ἐπὶ σοί, Λεύκιε, Κριναγόρης.

Establishing this gift's value is difficult. That the tooth-pick is not mastick-wood but quill suggests that it is cheap; cf. A.P. 6.229.5-6. Yet the epigram is R by position and, being clearly paired with Mart. 14.23 auriscalpium (which itself contains no indication of value), cannot be displaced.

General information concerning tooth-picks is found at R.E. V.221.56 ff. s.v. dentiscalpium [Maul] and Blümner Priv. p.399. Note too D-S II(1) p.102 col. 1 s.v. dentiscalpium [E. Sagliol].

1 lentiscum: The neuter form is not otherwise found (ThLL VII(2).1159.65 s.v. lentiscus et lentiscum [Collasserol]; cf. 1160.43 ff.). M. refers again to tooth-picks manufactured from the mastick tree

(*Pistacia Lentiscus*) at 3.82.9 'cuspidēs...lentiscī' and 6.74.3 'fodit...tonsis ora laxa lentiscis'.

frondea cuspis: Cf. Mart. 3.82.9 (quoted above) for cuspis. The word can be used of any pointed stick or wand: OLD s.v. cuspis §3. Frondea is a transferred epithet of sorts: what is meant is a pointed twig from a leafy tree, not a twig both leafy and pointed. The usage lacks precise parallel, but see ThLL VI(1).1346.29 ff. s.v. frondeus [Robbert].

2 dentes pinna levare potest: As is shown by the use of pinna at Petr. 33.1 'ut deinde pinna argentea dentes perfodit', tooth-picks were originally quill, but were later refined to include examples of more effective or more precious material.

Regarding this use of levo, see OLD s.v. levo §3.

14.23 An ear-pick

If your ear is plagued with a troublesome itchiness, we give an instrument suited to such great urges.

le. auriscalpium: This word, used in its true sense of 'ear-pick', survives in M. alone of Classical authors: ThLL II.1519.3 s.v. auriscalpium [Ihm]. Scribonius Largus uses it of a surgical probe (227): 'auriscalpio averso, quam partem $\chi\upsilon\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$ Graeci vocant'; cf. 41 'ad ulcus (medicamentum)...per...auriscalpium inicitur' and 230. Despite the paucity of references, numerous ear-picks survive and can be viewed in museums across Britain. Discussion can be found in Blümner Priv., p.438 n.11, who refers to R.E. II.2550.17 s.v. auriscalpium [Mau] and D-S I(1) p.572 col. 1 s.v. auriscalpium [E.Sagliol].

Although the epigram gives no indication of value, it is unlikely that this gift would have been costly. Nevertheless, the lack of precise information is unfortunate given the difficulty of evaluating Mart. 14.22 dentiscalpium.

1 morosa prurigine: Shackleton Bailey suggests (p.295) that prurigo is here used with reference not to ordinary, but to lascivious or erotic itching (for this meaning, see OLD s.v. prurigo §2, L-S s.v. prurigo §II), and that arma has a sexual sense (as at Priap. 31.3, Mart. 6.73.6, Maxim. 5.77, and as reported by Adams, p.17). Libidinibus too would, in his view, have a sexual application (see L-S s.v. libido §IIB). Shackleton Bailey cites no sexual meaning for auris, however, nor is one reported by Adams, or by the lexicographers of either Greek (s.v. οὖς) or Latin. Yet the lack of parallels does not invalidate the possibility of sexual imagery; either auris had a sexual sense which is not otherwise attested (cf. the hapax legomena and rare usages in appendix i), or, and this is more likely, the mere fact that the ear has an orifice is sufficient for the erotic imagery to be sustained.

The Loeb translates morosa as 'persistent'. To capture the sense of the word precisely is difficult. Possibly the closest parallel (see ThLL VIII.1502.83 f. s.v. morosus [Rubenbauer]) is Ovid Ars 2.323 'morosi... fastidia morbi'. Usually the word means 'querulous', 'pernickety', 'hard to please', 'difficult', vel sim.: see OLD s.v. morosus §1a, ThLL loc. cit. 48 ff. It is elsewhere applied to part of the body e.g. at Sen. Ep. 78.11, quoted at Mart. 14.105.2 'morosa sitis' below.

verminat: The word is used of labour pains by Pomponius, quoted at Non. 40.18M, and by Seneca of gout (Dial. 7.17.4). It is possible that M. mistakenly associated the word with vermis, and is describing the irritation caused by the intrusion of some creature; cf. OLD s.v. vermino §2. (Celsus 6.7.9 tells how to extract fleas from one's ear.)

2: Its possible sexual sense aside, arma is commonly used of tools or equipment: OLD s.v. arma §10a. For libido of the urge to satisfy some bodily need other than sexual desire, e.g. to scratch an itch, or to urinate, etc, see OLD s.v. libido §1b. On polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Intro. 'Metre'.

14.24 A gold hair-pin

So that your anointed locks do not spoil your shiny silks, let a hair-pin fasten and hold up your curled hair.

This epigram is the first in a series of four dealing with hair.

le. acus aurea: The gold of this valuable hair-pin accords with the wearer's silken garment, for the value of which see Kay at Mart. 11.49(50).5. Hair-pins survive in large numbers; see generally D-S I(1) p. 63 col. 1 ff. s.v. acus [G.Humbert]. For the gold hair-pin, see Blümner Priv. p.262.

Since men did not normally wear silks or pin their hair, this present must have gone to a woman. For such Saturnalian presents, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D above.

1 madidi violent...crines: Violo commonly means 'stain' or 'sully'. See Friedländer at Mart. 1.53.6, OLD s.v. violo §1d; cf. Verg. A. 12.67-8 'Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro/ si quis ebur'. Hair-oil would stain a girl's dress if her hair were allowed to hang loose.

C^A's madida is clearly wrong. Lindsay prints madidis, presumably understanding unguentis (as does ThLL VIII.36.76 s.v. madidus [Richter]). But although McKeown is right to note at Ovid Am. 1.6.37-8 that madidus is often used without qualification to refer to perfume, in all the parallels cited by him, bar this epigram, madidus qualifies crinis or a similar word. The Humanist madidi has therefore a great deal to commend it, and Shackleton Bailey, Heraeus, the Loeb and the Bude are surely correct to adopt it.

splendida...bombycina: Bombycinus is post-Augustan. See Colton's discussion, p.253. The bombyx is the silk-worm or moth, and bombycinus is used of silk or silk-like fabric. Substantival use of the n.pl. adj. is regular: see OLD s.v. bombycinus §1b; cf. Pliny Nat. 11.76 'vestem...quae bombycina appellatur', Mart. 8.68.7 'femineum lucet sic per bombycina corpus'.

Details concerning the production of 'bombycinae vestes' are provided by Kay at Mart. 11.49(50).5. It is possible that M. refers here to 'real' silk, i.e. that taken from the cocoons of the mulberry-eating moth bombyx mori and imported from China. That garments of Chinese silk are more properly called 'Sericae vestes' is no obstacle.

Alternatively M. might refer to fabric manufactured from the thread of other bombyx moths, which, being more locally available, was a cheaper yet very acceptable substitute for Chinese silk. Coan silk, famous for

its diaphanous quality (Hor. Serm. 1.2.101-2), belonged to this variety (Pliny Nat. 11.75 f.).

C^A's Tenuda, when emended by Humanist conjecture to tenuia, would indicate Coan silk very clearly; cf. Apul. Met. 10.31 'tenui pallio bombycino', Prop. 1.2.2 'et tenuis Coa veste movere sinus', Tib. 2.3.53-4 'vestes tenues, quas femina Coa/ texuit' and Smith ad loc. But splendida, TB^A, rightly preferred by editors, could be used of either variety (splendor is used of clothing at Lucr. 2.52 and Petr. 12.2).

2 tortas...comas: This hair has not been curled and permed by singeing, as has that at Ovid Ars 1.505 'nec ferro placeat torquere capillos', Ars 2.304 'torserit igne comam: torte capille, place!': hair thus treated would not need pins for it to be held in place. Rather, the hair has been wound into a bun, which is then held together by the acus (see D-S loc. cit. fig. 103). On Roman hairstyles and their variety, cf. Ovid Ars 3.137 ff. and see Leary (1990)² p.153.

figat: For this usage of figo, meaning 'fasten', cf. Mart. 2.66.1-2 'unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum/ anulus, incerta non bene fixus acu'; see OLD s.v. figo §5b. Figo is otherwise used of an acus employed by a bad-tempered mistress to stab her offending ornatrix: Ovid Ars 3.240 'et rapta bracchia figit acu'.

14.25 Combs

What will this boxwood comb achieve which is given to you with its multiple teeth when it finds no hair here?

le. pectines: Despite the pl. lemma, a single comb is described. Other

instances of numerical difference between lemma and poem are listed at Mart. 14.21.le. above. In contrast to the gold pin of Mart. 14.24, this common boxwood comb (buxus) is a poor man's gift. Valuable combs would have been made e.g. of ivory.

Many examples of Roman combs survive. Paoli gives an illustration (fig. 36), while general discussion can be found at D-S IV(1) p.363 col. 2 ff. s.v. pecten [Georges Lafayel]. For boxwood combs in particular, see D-S *ibid.* p.364 col. 1 and Mayor at Juv. 14.194 buxo; cf. e.g. A.P. 6.211.5 πύξινον κτένα, Ovid Fast. 6.229 'non mihi detonsas crines depectere buxo', Met. 4.311.

When not used for combing, combs could be used for fixing hair and for ornament; cf. Apul. Met. 11.9 '(sc. mulieres) quae pectines eburnos ferentes' and see R.E. XIX.9.53 ff. s.v. pecten, where Gertrud Herzog-Hauser speculates that the Cyllenaean tortoiseshell at Ovid Ars 3.147 is a 'Steckkamm' for the hair, comparing Pollux 5.96 τὸ δὲ ξάνιον ᾗν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ χρυσόυν, κεφαλῇ κόσμος· ἔνιοι δ' αὐτὸ κτένιον εἶναι νομίζουσιν. Therefore this comb is not unnaturally paired with the acus.

1: For faciet in this sense, see OLD s.v. facio 925a.

nullos hic inventura capillos: The recipient of this comb is presumably bald: hic, where one would perhaps expect illic, refers to his head very pointedly.

Baldness was commonly mocked by the Romans (Suet. Cal. 50.1; cf. Dio 43.43.1 of Caesar, who hid his baldness with laurel), and was a sore point to many, including notoriously the Emperor Domitian, who wrote a treatise on hair-care: cf. Suet. Dom. 18.2; see K.M.Coleman, ANRW II

32.5, 3094-5. Remedies and restoratives for lost hair abounded then as now. For one such, employing myrrh, cf. Pliny Nat. 26.48. Other recipes at Nat. 8.127, 22.104.

2 multifido...dente: Regarding the teeth of combs, cf. Tib. 1.9.67 f. 'tunc putas illam...denso pectere dente comas', at which see Smith on dens: such poetic singulars are rare and usually occur with an attributive or some other word by which the word's plural value is confirmed. Here, one finds multifidus.

When used of wood, multifidus can mean 'splintered': OLD s.v. multifidus 81a. The meaning here is more 'much divided', but splinters and the teeth of combs are not without similarity and so the former meaning has perhaps some secondary relevance.

14.26 Hair

Chattan foam enflames Teutonic hair: you can be better adorned with captive locks.

le. crines: Hair was imported for wigs, which were worn by women who had lost their own hair, whether through age or the hair-treatments of the day: see at 'Chattica...spuma' below. Such women commonly attracted derision: Ovid Ars 3.165-6 'femina procedit densissima crinibus emptis/proque suis alios efficit aere suos', Mart. 12.23.1 'dentibus atque comis...uteris emptis', yet the trade continued. The best wigs were thought to be of German hair, as a host of references testify: see Mayor at Juv. 13.165, Leary (1990)² p.153; cf. Mart. 5.37.8, 68, Ovid Am. 1.14.45 quoted below.

Other references to wigs include Ovid Ars 3.245-6, Juv. 6.120, Petr.

110.5. General discussions appear at D-S II(1) p.1452 s.v. galerus [Salamon Reinach], Blümner Priv. p.276, Marquardt Prl. p.603 f.

This epigram continues the theme of hairlessness begun in Mart. 14.25 and sustained in 14.27. It is further linked with Mart. 14.27 by 'Chattica...spuma', i.e. sapo. Since probability suggests that hair was dearer than sapo, and the comb of Mart. 14.25 is cheap, this is a rich man's gift.

While the gift might well have been intended for a female recipient (cf. Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D), male use of wigs is attested: Suet. Otho 12.1.

1 Chattica Teutonicos accendit spuma capillos: Cf. Mart. 8.33.20 'spuma Batava'. The substance is described by Pliny at Nat. 28.191: 'prodest et sapo, Galliarum hoc inventum rutilandis capillis. fit ex sebo et cinere, optimus fagino et caprino, duobus modis, spissus ac liquidus, uterque apud Germanos maiore in usu viris quam feminis'.

Given Pliny's description, sapo was clearly not a dye as M. obviously thought (see Mart. 14.27.1 n.). Rather, it was apparently a soapy alkaline substance with bleaching properties. When treated with weak solutions of sapo, i.e. those with a higher proportion of fat than ash, hair would be cleaned and the natural ruddy gloss for which the Germans were famed would be enhanced (Balsdon Women p.259). Hence accendit; cf. Pliny's rutilandis. For the colour of German hair, see at Mart. 14.176.1. The etymological link between sapo and soap is therefore not insignificant (pace Green, p.392 n. 86).

Rather than restoring natural colour by removing dirt, mixtures which were too strong, i.e. those with too high an ash content, would whiten

and even dissolve hair, causing the baldness suffered by Corinna (Ovid Am. 1.14.1-2 'dicebam "medicare tuos desiste capillos";/ tingere quam possis iam tibi nulla coma est'): the effects can be simulated by placing hair in household bleach.

General comments on sapo can be found in Marquardt, Prl. p. 764. I am grateful to Dr John Spencer for checking my chemistry.

2 captivis poteris cultior esse comis: Together with the adjective Chatticus (which survives here only: ThLL II (Onomasticon). 385.46 s.v. Chatti [Reischl]), captivis recalls Domitian's Chattan victory, details of which appear at Mart. 14.170 below.

Comis too recalls Domitian's victory: the superficial import of the epigram is that Germanic hair is attractive, and therefore hairless Romans can look attractive too by wearing it (rather than local wig-hair). But there is more - hair was sent by defeated nations as a token of submission: see McKeown at Ovid Am. 1.14.45-6 'nunc tibi captivos mittet Germania crines;/ tuta triumphatae munere gentis eris'; cf. Claud. 8.446 f. (Cons. Hon. IV.446 f.) 'ante ducem nostrum flavam sparsere Sygambri/ caesariem', 18.383 (Eutr. I.383) 'militet ut nostris detonsa Sigambria signis'.

The irony that, albeit a traditional token of submission, this hair from captives is regarded as a valuable form of adornment in its own right is reinforced by the 'c' alliteration, especially in the pentameter, and the emphatic positioning of captivis.

14.27 Soap

If, being grey, you prepare to dye your aged hair, accept (why be bald?) these Mattiacan balls.

le.: B^A transposes the lemmata of Mart. 14.26 and 27. The reversal is understandable and is supported by W.Ker, CQ 44(1950), p.24: 14.26.1 refers to sapo, while 14.27.2 'quo tibi calva?' might suggest wigs. But 14.26.2 clearly establishes crines as that epigram's lemma, while for the correct explanation of 14.27.2 see below.

1 si mutare paras longaevos cana comas: Cf. Mart. 8.33.20 'et mutat Latias spuma Batava comas'. M. clearly thinks of sapo as a dye, capable here of restoring colour to grey hair (muta is usual of dyeing hair). In fact, if sapo is correctly identified as a soap-like alkaline (Mart. 14.26.1 n.), its only colouring effect on grey hair would be to whiten it further, if not dissolving it entirely.

To darken grey hair, a nut or vegetable dye would be necessary: cf. Tib. 1.8.43-4 'coma tum mutatur, ut annos/ dissimulet viridi cortice tincta nucis' and Ovid Ars 3.163 'femina canitiem Germanis inficit herbis'. (Ovid Ars 3.163 is apparently taken to refer to sapo e.g. by Butler and Barber at Prop. 2.18.26, but herbis does not agree with Pliny's recipe at Nat. 28.191.) Further references to vegetable dyes for darkening hair can be found in Marcellus, Med. Book 7, and at Pliny Nat. 24.42, 52, 94, 110, 122, etc.

Dyeing grey hair was generally considered a futile exercise: see Murgatroyd at Tib. 1.8.43-4 (quoted above), citing e.g. A.P. 11.408 (Lucian), Mart. 3.43.

2 accipe Mattiacas...pilas: Mattiacum is supposed to be Marburg or Wiesbaden. The Mattiaci, a sub-division of the Chatti (cf. Mart.

14.26.1 'Chattica...spuma') lived between Mount Taunus, the Rhine and the Main and are described by Tacitus, Ger. 29.3 (at which see Anderson).

The word pila is sometimes used not of balls, but of materials cast in the shape of balls, e.g. lead (Vitr. 9.8.3) and wax (Scrib. Largus 255). See further OLD s.v. pila³ §2. Similarly, we talk of bars (of soap or iron etc.).

quo tibi calva?: Macrobius tells an anecdote of how, having caught his daughter plucking out her grey hairs, Augustus asked 'utrum...cana esse mallet an calva': Sat. 2.5.7; cf. Ovid Ars. 2.666 'albentes iam leget illa comas', Tib. 1.8.45, Prop. 3.25.13. Given these references, it seems that plucking grey hairs was a common practice and that Ker's objections to Friedländer's explanation here with reference to Macrobius is unfounded.

14.28 A sunshade

Accept parasols which overcome excessive sun: even if there is a wind, your own awning will cover you.

le. umbella: This word appears to survive in Silver Latin only: OLD and L-S refer s.v. umbella to Juv 9.50 (where the umbella wards off rain) and Mart 11.73.6, at which places see Kay and Courtney for further discussion. The sunshade would normally be used only by women (Paoli p.105). For Saturnalian presents intended for women, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D (the umbella at Juv. 9.50 is a possible Matronalia gift to an effeminate cinaedus). A lover in abasement might, however, hold his lady's parasol (Ovid Ars 2.209), while slaves would

shade their mistresses: Hercules bears an umbrella for Omphale at Ovid Fast. 2.311-12; cf. also Claud. 18.464 f. (Eutr. 1.464 f.) of eunuch parasol bearers, Mart. 11.73.6 'umbellam luscae, Lygde, feras dominae'. Men as a rule wore hats, for which see Mart. 14.29.

The umbrella/parasol has a long history and was known in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece as well as in Rome. In general, see D-S V p.583 col. 1 s.v. umbella [Georges Nicolet], which contains illustrations (cf. Paoli plate 36), Blümner Priv. p.266 and R.E. IXA.585.50 ff. s.vv. umbella, umbraculum [H. Cüppers].

Although Mart. 14.28-9 make a definite pair, it is impossible to tell the relative value of the items in these epigrams unless by position.

The singular umbella conflicts with umbracula, line 1. For similar cases, see at Mart. 14.21. le. above.

1 umbracula: While also used of other forms of shelter (OLD s.v. umbracula §1a;c), umbraculum is often a synonym for umbella; cf. Ovid Fast. 2.311, Ars 2.209, Claud. 8.340-1 (Cons. Hon. IV 340-1) 'neu defensura calorem/ aurea summoveant rapidos umbracula soles'.

2 sit licet et ventus, te tua vela tegant: Awnings were rendered impractical by high winds: Mart. 9.38.6 'et rapiant celeres vela negata Noti', 11.21.6 'quam Pompeiano vela negata Noto' and Kay ad loc., 14.29.2 below.

These awnings were made of heavy duty linen: Marquardt Prl. p.483. The question of how they were rigged is vexed. Jennison, pp.161 ff., attempts a reconstruction. Holes for their masts (mali) can be seen e.g. at the Colosseum and in the theatre at Pompeii. Between these mali were

slung beams (trabes) on which the vela were stretched: Hollis at Ovid Ars 1.103. Rainer Graefe, Vela erunt - Die Zeltdächer der römischen Theater und ähnlicher Anlagen, Mainz 1979, offers a detailed study with ample illustration. See too Balsdon LL. p.257 f. and Norma Goldman, 'Reconstructing the Roman Colosseum awning', Archaeology 35.2 (1982), pp. 57-65.

Awnings were apparently introduced by Q.Lutatius Catulus in 78 B.C. (at the dedication of the Capitoline temple: Pliny Nat. 19.23) and were used again by Lentulus Spinther in 60 B.C. Their absence came to characterise early days: Ovid Ars 1.103, Prop. 4.1.15 'nec sinuosa cavo pendebant vela theatro'. In later days, it was regarded as a hardship to be without - hence the stress on tua here. Awnings were advertised as added attractions to spectators: cf. e.g. CIL 4.1177 f. (along with perfumed showers). So familiar did they become that Lucretius uses them as illustration (4.75 ff.; cf. 6.108 ff.). At Mart. 12.28.15-16, M. humorously describes how, even under the burning sun, the awnings are furled when Hermogenes, a notorious napkin thief, arrives.

14.29 A sunhat

I shall watch with you in the theatre of Pompey, for the blast of the wind is wont to deny the people the awnings.

le. causea: Macedonian in origin (Val. Max. 5.1 ext. 4), this hat was adopted early by the Romans. In Plautus, causea is used regularly of the headgear of the lower classes. Later such headgear was worn more generally, as here, for protection against the sun. Since women's hats were unknown (Paoli p.105), this epigram describes the male equivalent to the parasol in Mart. 14.28. The word was probably introduced via the

army; for other such words, see Heraeus, 'Die römische Soldatensprache', ALLG 12(1902), pp.263 ff. In general see R.E. XI.89.57 ff. s.v. Καυσία [v.Netoliczka], Bell p.327.

1 Pompeiano...theatro: Built in 55 B.C., the theatre of Pompey was the first permanent theatre in Rome and also the most important. Its outline can still be seen today from the layout of modern buildings: Nash II fig. 1217; see also figs 1216-23 and Platner Ashby pp.515 ff. The theatre included a temple of Venus at the top of the auditorium. When Tiridates, king of Armenia, visited Rome in A.D. 66, Nero is said to have arranged for purple awnings: Dio Cass. 42.6.1-2. See also Balsdon LL. p.254.

tecum TB^a: tectus C^a. Tectus is nonsensical, unless one emends spectabo, for which there is no justification. It was perhaps prompted by tegent (Mart. 14.28.2).

2 nam flatus Pontanus: mandatus TB^a: nam ventus C^a. Lindsay reads mandatus, which he first takes as an official order: CR 17(1903) p.52. Tyrannical emperors could make their subjects sweat by denying them awnings: Suet. Cal. 26.5; see Balsdon LL. p.257. (On vela, see n. at Mart. 14.28.2.) In a later article, however (CR 33(1919) p.26), he refers to Cyrillus' glossary (CGL II.346.38): κάρτοχος = mandalus, a word of uncertain scansion which refers to the fastening of a door. He wonders whether a similar catch might not be used for keeping the awnings furled.

Lindsay's second proposal is tenuous. As for the first, it is unlikely

that M. would have commented so directly on Domitian's tyranny while the Emperor was alive.

Heraeus understands Mandatus as the name of a velarius who is accustomed to keep the awnings furled. He refers to Dessau ind. nom. s.v. Mandatus (see vol. 3(1), p.212), and compares other names in M., such as Leitus (cf. Mart. 5.8.12, 14.11, 25.2, 35.5) and Oceanus (cf. Mart. 3.95.10, 5.23.4, 27.4, 6.9.2). Housman thinks that Heraeus is right, and records that Heinsius too had scented a proper name (Class. Pap. p.1101); but the velarius Mandatus would not have acted on his own responsibility, and it is again unlikely that M. would have commented so directly on Imperial harshness.

CA's nam ventus makes far better sense than mandatus (for winds preventing the use of awnings, see Mart. 14.28 above), and is favoured by Rainer Graefe (see Mart. 14.28.2 n.) p.14; but it is repetitive after Mart. 14.28.2, whence it doubtless arose: although M. sometimes repeats words within paired epigrams, the repetition is usually well considered. For example, the repeated word might be used slightly differently, as at Mart. 14.185.1 Maronis (of Virgil himself), 14.186.1 Maronem (referring to Virgil's work); cf. Mart. 14.208.1 curro (of speech), 14.209.2 curro (of pen on paper). Alternatively, the repeated word might be used to contrast paired gifts, as e.g. at Mart. 14.20.1 armare, 14.21.1 armata (the case at 20 is not equipped with pens, that at 21 is); cf. Mart. 14.138.2 villi, 139.1 villosa (the laena (138) has villi, the mantele (139) does not). Repetition of ventus here would be unimaginative, however, especially given that vela, undoubtedly correct, is repeated too, and so the reading is suspect.

Nam Notus is suggested e.g. by E.Lieben, PhW 15(1930), pp.461-2,

comparing Mart. 9.38.6, 11.21.6. The sense of this conjecture equals that of nam ventus, and it is paleographically close to the corrupt mandatus. An even better conjecture, however, is nam flatus, suggested by Pontanus and followed by Schneidewin (q.v. ad loc.), Friedländer and Shackleton Bailey. Not only does it make good sense, but its palaeographic affinity to mandatus is very close. It should therefore be restored to the text.

14.30-36: These epigrams deal with iron-ware or related objects.

14.30 Hunting spears

They will intercept wild boars and waylay lions; they will penetrate bears, if only the hand be firm.

le. venabula B^α venabulum A^αC^α: A plural lemma would agree with the plural verbs of the epigram, but elsewhere a difference in number between lemma and poem is tolerated: see Mart. 14.21. le. n. above. Venabulum could be right.

On hunting spears, see D-S V p.684 col. 2 s.v. venatio [Georges Lafayel, Blümner Priv. p.524: the venabulum, an alternative to the contus, was used for big game. (On the contus, see Ullman p.353, who interprets contumelia (Petr. 56.8) as punning on 'contus cum mela', i.e. a toffee apple). The venabulum had a long shaft and was wielded with both hands. Its tip was wide and long (Mart. 14.31.1 and n. ad loc.) and there was a cross-piece below it on the shaft to prevent excessive penetration. Illustration can be found in Balsdon, LL. plate 14c (animal-fighting in the arena; from Lepcis Magna).

This gift is probably a rich man's: indications of the quality (and therefore expense) of the spears receive comment below.

1 apros: Cf. leones, ursos. These animals were all big and fierce game; cf. Verg. A. 4.156 ff. 'at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri/ gaudet equo iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,/ spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis/ optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem', Mart. 6.64.28: bears are proverbially and inherently dangerous. Since the spears here described will despatch such fierce animals, they must be fine ones.

excipient: Excipere is standard of lying in wait to catch an animal. See N-H at Hor. Carm. 2.15.16, who refer to L.P. Wilkinson, CQ 9(1959), p.188. See too Coleman at Verg. Ecl. 3.17-18 'caprum/ excipere insidiis'. Coleman cites Hor. Carm. 3.12.12 '...et celer arto latitantem/ fruticeto excipere aprum'; cf. also Prop. 2.19.24-5 'lepores...excipere', Ovid Ars 1.756 'mille animos excipe mille modis', Caes. Gal. 6.28.4.

Excipere might also mean 'withstand', however, which would emphasise the strength and quality of the spear and concur with intrabunt; cf. Sen. Dial. 1.2.8 'inruentem feram venabulo exceptit'; see OLD s.v. excipio §11a.

Both meanings are appropriate here, and are not mutually exclusive.

expectabuntque: Despite its rarity (see ThLL V(2).1225.51 ff. s.v. excepto [Rehm]), Ker suggests expectabunt (CQ 44(1950) p.24) on the grounds that expectabunt (which he would translate 'will await') is odd

between active words like excipient and intrabunt. In response, Hudson Williams pointed out (CQ 46(1952) p.31) that Isid. Orig. 18.7.4 misquotes Mart. 14.30, having 'expectantque leones', but that he evidently did not object to this use of the verb. (It is perhaps also unlikely that, after excipient, M. would then use immediately a word derived from excipio.) Ker's reaction to Hudson Williams (CQ 47(1953) p.174) was to wonder whether corruption might not predate Isidore.

The point is possibly that, having laid a trap, the hunter has to wait for an animal to come along before the action proper can begin; i.e. waiting is as important a part of hunting as is the kill. One cannot happen without the other. Since excipere entails an element of waiting, expectare appears to me in the context a complementary rather than a contradictory word. Compare Stat. Theb. 4.494 ff.:

qualis Gaetulae stabulantem ad confraga silvae
venator longo motum clamore leonem
expectat firmans animum et sudantia nisu
tela premens; gelat ora pavor gressusque tremescunt,
quis veniat quantusque, sed horrida signa frementis
accipit et caeca metitur murmura cura.

Unlike the hunter in Statius, however, the spear here waits with a measure of confidence.

M. uses expecto of a net to catch birds at 11.21.5: 'expectant retia turdos'.

2 intrabunt: Cf. Mart. 7.27.3 'quem (aprum) meus intravit splendenti cuspidе dexter', Sil. 13.12, Stat. Theb. 11.640, Sidon. Carm. 2.148; see ThLL VII(2).63.11 ff. s.v. intro [Freil. Intro meaning 'transfix' does not appear in prose. That these spears can pierce bearskin is another indication of quality.

sit modo firma manus: These spears are not guaranteed against improper use and resultant accidents.

14.31 A hunting knife

If you lament your long-pointed hunting spear which has been knocked down, this short weapon will go for the huge boar at close quarters.

le. culter venatorius: Cf. Petr. 40.5 'stricto...venatorio cultro latus apri vehementer percussit' (notice that this boar appears in the context of apophoreta: Petr. 40.4). A culter is one of the punning substitutes for items listed by the pittacia at Petr. 56.7-10. For explanation, see Ullman p.355.

The venabula in Mart. 14.30 are probably valuable: see ad loc. There are no precise indications of value in Mart. 14.31, but the culter would correspond, following the RP sequence, to the pugio in Mart. 14.33. This appears to be a poor man's gift in comparison with the parazonium of Mart.14.32: see discussion ad loc (le. n.).

Blümner, Priv. p.525, comments that the spear was used to inflict initial wounds while the culter was used for finishing the kill and for dissection and skinning; see too D-S V p.586 col. 1 s.v. venatio [Georges Lafayel; cf. Mart. 4.35.4. For other complementary pairs of R and P gifts, see Intro. 'Order' above, Mart. 14.201-223 n. below, and cf. 71-2, 122-3, 165-7, 205-7; note too 131-2.

When not used for hunting, the culter venatorius was favoured by assassins: Suet. Aug. 19.2, Claud. 13.1; cf. Tac. Ann. 3.43.

1 deiecta: Presumably as a result of a charge. One recalls 'sit modo firma manus' (Mart. 14.30.2).

longo venabula rostro: Cf. Verg. A. 4.131 'lato venabula ferro', Ovid Met. 10.713 'pando venabula rostro' and see Blümner Priv. p.525. Note also Mart. 14.30 le. n. above.

2: Brevis contrasts with longo, concords with comminus and is tellingly juxtaposed with ingentem. The size of boars receives frequent comment: cf. e.g. Cic. Ver. 5.7 'aper ingens' (ingens is practically a stock epithet), Amm. 23.5.11, Mart. 7.27.1-2, (by implication) Juv. 1.140.

Comminus (cominus, Gilbert and Schneidewin, probably wrongly: Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.51) is commonly used of close engagements with prey: OLD s.v. comminus §1b; cf. Prop. 2.19.22 'agrestes comminus ire sues', Ovid Fast. 5.175-6 'in apros/ audet et hirsutas comminus ire feras'.

ibit: Cf. Prop. 2.19.22 cited above and see OLD s.v. eo §7b. The knife is personified, as are the venabula in Mart. 14.30 (although the external agency of a firm hand is there admitted).

14.32 A dagger belt

This is the decoration of soldiers and will be an omen of favourable high office, a weapon worthy to gird a tribune's side.

le. parazonium: Ordinary soldiers wore their swords on the right, suspended from a shoulder strap. As a mark of rank, military tribunes wore daggers suspended from a parazonium or girdle (cf. Mommsen StR 1 p.434, R.E. XVIII(4).1417.34 ff. s.v. parazonium [Lambertz]), presumably in addition to their swords, although no representations survive showing them doubly armed thus (D-S IV(1) p.333 col. 1 s.v. parazonium [A.S.Reinach]). They possibly wore these daggers on their left to

prevent excessive armour on one side. (They must have worn daggers, rather than some other weapon, or there would be no point of connection between Mart. 14.32 and 14.33.)

Macedonian in origin, the word parazonium is rare, surviving elsewhere in Classical Latin in an inscription (from the time of Tiberius?): 'anulum aureum <cum> gemma..., <in qua> imago Ti. Caesaris <est e>t parazonium' (ThLL X.324.55 ff. s.v. parazonium [Gatti]). In Greek, note παραζωνίδια of daggers in Posid. ap. Athen. 176b; see Hesychius s.v. εἶφος. The wealthy context of the above inscription and the implication of 'gratque erit omen honoris' here suggest that this gift was not a poor man's.

Arma (line 2) might suggest that here parazonium refers to both dagger and belt; contrast Mart. 14.33 where the poor man gives just the dagger. If so, the R and P gifts are not strictly complementary, as are some of the other gifts listed at Mart. 14.31. le.

1 militiae decus: For militia referring collectively to soldiers, see OLD s.v. militia §4. Sometimes the word specifically distinguishes them from officers, but there seems no particular reason for thinking this here. Rather, it is a general reference to military men.

Decus here means 'ornament' (OLD s.v. §5b) rather than indicating valiant martial deeds (as at Livy 2.23.4) or military honour (V.Max. 1.6.11).

gratque erit omen honoris: Omen erit suggests that the recipient of this gift cannot expect high public office (OLD s.v. honor §5a) in the normal course of events; but having received the gift, he can look out

for the position that accompanies it: service as a military tribune was a necessary step in the political careers of both senators and equestrians (Graham Webster, The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D.,³ London 1986, pp. 112-3). In the senator's case, it was the first step in a career that might lead eventually to the consulship, an honour eminently favourable.

2: Arma tribunicium cingere digna latus: While indicating that the gift is fine enough to gird a tribune, this line also confirms that the person who actually receives it is not a tribune and has no realistic expectations of high office.

14.33 A dagger

A dagger which a short duct marks in a curved vein - the River Salo tempered it with icy water, making it hiss.

Shackleton Bailey and others punctuate this epigram by placing a comma after vena, line 1, thereby acknowledging anacolouthon. Lindsay places a stop after vena, and would presumably render pugio as 'Behold, a dagger,...'; but had M. intended this interpretation, he would surely have supplied a word like en!

le.: The rich man in Mart. 14.32 might give both parazonium and pugio - see above. The poor man can give just the pugio (cf. Mart. 14.153). While an incomplete gift, it is not, however, a mean one: like the parazonium, the pugio also indicates military distinction (V. Max 3.5.3), and it was worn by emperors, perhaps to symbolise their power over life and death: Tac. Hist. 3.68; cf. Suet. Galb. 11, Vit. 15.4; see D-S IV(1)

p.764 n.12 s.v. pugio [A-J Reinach], q.v. also (p.761 col. 1 ff.) with R.E. XXIII.2.1951.20 ff. s.v. pugio [Alfred Neumann] for general comment.

1 quem curva signat brevis orbita vena: Orbita, as used here, lacks exact parallels: ThLL IX(2).921.11 ff. s.v. orbita [Bohnen Kamp], and as to what exactly this line means, one can therefore merely speculate: brevis orbita might refer to a blood duct running along the blade (R.E. loc. cit. says nothing of blood ducts when describing the pugio, but this does not exclude the possibility of their existence). This would agree well with vena. Curva would then indicate a curved blade, however, to correspond with the curved duct, and illustrations of daggers show them to be straight (see e.g. D-S loc. cit.).

An alternative might be to take the trade mark of items manufactured on the banks of the Salo (see at line 2) to be a curved line like a lunate sigma (for signo meaning 'stamp', see OLD s.v. signo 96). This seems, however, a little fanciful.

A satisfactory explanation remains to be found.

stridentem gelidis hunc Salo tinxit aquis: The Salo (Jálon) flows round M's birthplace, Bilbilis. That the name survives only in M. (see the quotations below and also Mart. 10.103.2) might indicate that it was a local word. The area was well known for metal-working, and this line refers to the process of tempering; cf. Mart. 1.49.12 'Salo..., qui ferrum gelat', 4.55.14-15 'quam fluctu tenui sed inquieto/ armorum Salo temperator ambit', Pliny Nat. 34.144 'nobilavit loca gloria ferri, sicuti Bilbilim in Hispania', Justin 44.3.8 'praecipua his (Gallaeciis)

quidem ferri materia, sed aqua ipso ferro violentior: quippe temperamento eius ferrum acrius redditur: nec ullum apud eos telum probatur, quod non aut Bilbili fluvio aut Chalybe tingatur'.

The Salo was particularly famed for its coldness. In addition to the citations above, cf. Mart. 12.21.1 'rigidi...Salonis'. The juxtaposition of stridentem and gelidis emphasizes the contrasting temperatures of the metal and water; cf. Homer Od. 9.391 ff.:

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς πέλεχυν μέγαν ἢ σκέπαρνον
εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτῃ μέγαλα ἰάχοντα
φαρμάσσων· τὸ γὰρ αὖτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν·
ὥς τοῦ σιζ' ὀφθαλμὸς ἐλαΐνεω περὶ μοχλῷ.

Tingo, while used generally of immersion, is technical for tempering metals. In addition to Justin 44.3.8 quoted above, cf. Celsus 5.28.2 'testa, ex qua faber ferrarius tingere candens ferrum solitus est'.

14.34 A sickle

The certain peace of the emperor has curved me for peaceful use. I am now the farmer's; earlier I was the soldier's.

le. falx: Given the impracticality of sustained agricultural activity in wartime, especially before the establishment of professional armies, it is not surprising that the scythe or sickle came commonly to symbolise peace; cf. Isaiah 2.4, Micah 4.3; contrast Joel 3.10; in Latin literature, cf. Verg. G. 1.508 'et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem', A. 7.635-6, Lucr. 5.1293-6, Ovid Fast. 1.697-700, Tib. 1.10.49 f.

The origins of the word falx are dubious. Isidore, who quotes this epigram (Orig. 20.14.4), attempts an etymology: 'Falcis est qua arbores putantur et vites; dicta autem falcis quod his primum milites herbam

filicem solebant abscidere'.

Detailed discussion of scythes and sickles can be found in K.D.White, Agricultural Implements of the Roman World, Cambridge 1967, Ch 3. See also Blümner Priv. p.568 n.3, D-S II(2) p.968 col. 2 ff. s.v. falx [S.Reinach] with illustrations.

There are no indications of this sickle's value except the epigram's position (R). It seems likely, however, that Mart. 14.35 describes a poor man's gift (see ad loc.).

1 pax...certa ducis: The peace referred to is that which followed Domitian's campaign to subdue the troublesome Chatti; see Intro. 'Date' above and at Mart. 14.170 below. See too B.W.Henderson, Five Roman Emperors, Cambridge 1927, pp.99 ff. Domitian himself led the campaign. Hence ducis is not honorific here. Regarding the Chatti, cf. Tac. Germ. 30.1 f. with Anderson.

Pax certa is perhaps intended to recall the Pax Augusta. Peace would have to be firmly established to allow disarmament, or symbolic reference to disarmament, whether by recycling weaponry for agricultural usage or by any other means, and, as elsewhere (e.g. Mart. 14.170 below), M. is here flattering the Emperor.

curvavit: Cf. Verg. G. 1.508 quoted above; see D-S loc. cit.: while there were many varieties of sickle/scythe, they were for the most part curved.

placidos...in usus: Cf. Cic. Tusc. 5.48 'placidissimam pacem'.

2 agricolae(1) nunc(2) sum(3), militis(1) ante(2) fui(3): Agricolae is emphatically placed to stress present usage, as is fui, denoting that military use is now obsolete (note too the position of pax, line 1).

14.35 A little axe

When there was a gloomy auction for the settling of debt, this was bought for 400 000 sesterces.

le. securicula: This little axe was probably ornamental; cf. Plaut. Rud. 1158 'securicula ancipes...aurea, litterata' (although the word occurs in a non ornamental context at Pliny Nat. 18.177).

For axes generally (no mention of miniatures), see D-S IV(2) p.1165 col.1 ff. s.v. securis [A-J Reinach]. This gift might have been intended for a child: Mohler p.257; for such gifts, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and at Mart. 14.19.2 above. On its value, see below.

1 tristis solvendis auctio nummis: i.e. a sale of personal belongings following bankruptcy; cf. Petr. 38.16 'inclinatis quoque rebus suis, cum timeret ne creditores illum conturbare existimarent, hoc titulo auctionem proscripsit: <C> Iulius Proculus auctionem faciet rerum supervacuarum' where, however, the auctioning of property is done with an element of bluff and style (on conturbare, see Fordyce at Catul. 5.11). Although such bankruptcy sales were sometimes fraudulent (cf. Juv. 3.33), usually the adjective tristis (a strong word) would have been appropriate.

D-S I(1) p.543 col. 1 f. s.v. auctio [G.Humbert] describes auction procedure.

Solve is usual of settling debts: OLD s.v. solvo §18a, L-S s.v. solvo §B1c.

2 haec quadringentis milibus empta fuit: The little axe was clearly not worth 400 000 sesterces, the property qualification for an equestrian (see below at Mart. 14.122.le.). Its (poor) donor, however, attempts to enhance its value by the (undoubtedly fictitious) scenario of an equestrian, in debt and in danger of degradation, who is spared by a kindly benefactor (again see at Mart. 14.122.le.) in return for a face-saving token.

14.36 Barbers' tools

These instruments are suitable for hair which you have to cut; this one is useful for long nails, and this for cheeks.

le. ferramenta tonsoria: Ferramenta can describe any iron implement: hence the adjective; cf. Petr. 108.8 'hinc mercennarius tonsor ferramenta sua nobis et ipse armatus distribuit' where tonsor leaves no doubt as to the implements intended. Tonsorius is used specifically of the barbers' cultellus (on which see below at 'unguibus...longis') at V.Max. 3.2.15 and Cic. Off. 2.25.

It was not until the 2nd Century B.C. that shaving and hair-cutting became common (Paoli p.108), influenced perhaps by Hellenistic practice. Ovid (Ars 1.518-9) describes the well-groomed young man of Augustan times as having trimmed hair, short and clean nails and a trimmed beard, if beard at all: full beards did not become fashionable until the reign of Hadrian, who grew one to hide physical disfigurement. Facial growth was not favoured by earlier emperors: Carcopino pp.178-9.

Blümner, Priv. pp.267 ff., comments on barbers in general. On the value of their tools, see below at 'haec arma...sunt apta'. (It seems that this epigram's partner has fallen out: see Intro. 'Order'.)

1 tondendis...capillis: Tondeo is used of cutting both beard and hair, 'barbam et capillum': Cic. Tusc. 5.58; cf. Mart. 11.39.3 barba, Ovid Met. 8.151 capillus, Sisenna Hist. 47 Peter 'barba inmissa et intonso capillo'.

More often than not (some exceptions are recorded by OLD s.v. capillus Sic, L-S s.v. capillus SIIA, ThLL III.317.30 ff. s.v. capillus [Meister]), capillus refers to hair on one's head. If this is so here, as seems likely, we have three types of ferramenta tonsoria referred to, one for hair, another for the beard, the third for nails; cf. Blümner Priv. p.269 n.1, whose observation regarding the interchangeability of names used for barbers' implements (pp.268-9) must nonetheless be noted. Note too that more than one hair-removal procedure might be used on the same anatomical part (Mart. 8.47.1-2.), although this was probably unusual.

haec arma...sunt apta: The instrument used (albeit not exclusively) for cutting hair was the forfex, a pair of scissors comprising two blades turning on a common pivot and without thumb and finger holes - haircuts were generally rough and ready: Carcopino p.177. In general, see D-S II(1) p.1242 col. 2 s.v. forfex [Salamon Reinach] - note figs 3173-4: Tanagra figurines using forfices to cut hair.

The forfex could also be used on beards (cf. Mart. 7.95.11-13, Sidonius Ep. 4.13.1 'barba...ad cutem secta forcipibus'; see R.E.

VI.2955.11 ff. s.v. forfex [Mau]), and was employed when a boy's first down was removed: Carcopino pp.179-180.

At Suet. Aug. 75, the forfex is identified as a cheap present. It therefore seems probable that this epigram describes a poor man's gift.

A.P. 6.307, which enumerates scissors, razors and cultelli (τοὺς σὺλόνυχας στόνυχας) amongst the barber's tools, perhaps suggests that there were more types of forfex than one (λιποχόπτους/ φασγανίδας...ψαλίδας; in each case sc. ἔπτυσε vel sim.). The plural arma is not necessarily poetic.

2 unguibus hic longis utilis: hic A²C²: haec B². Despite the interchangeability of names mentioned above, haec (imported from line 1, or possibly because of illa?) is probably wrong: the instrument generally used for manicure was the masculine cultellus: cf. V.Max. 3.2.15 'cultellum tonsorium quasi unguium resecandorum causa poposcit'; see D-S II(2) p.1587 col. 1 s.v. culter [Salamon Reinach], noting figs 2125-6.

Concerning the responsibility of barbers for manicure, cf. Plaut. Aul. 312; see Hollis at Ovid Ars 1.59.

illa genis: On the straight razor or novacula of the Empire, see D-S IV(1) p.108 col. 1 f. s.v. novacula [G.Lafaye] and fig. 5334, which depicts mirror, scissors, comb and two other instruments which appear to be razors. The novacula is referred to again e.g. at Petr. 103.1, Mart. 2.66.7, 7.61.7, 11.58.9.

14.37 A bookcase

Unless you cram me with books, I shall let in worms and cruel fishmoths

Regarding M's hendecasyllables, see Intro. 'Metre' above.

le. scrinium: Of doubtful etymology, this word is nonetheless common, usually designating a receptacle used to protect papers and papyrus rolls from vermin (see e.g. Blümner Priv. p.131); but it could contain other items as well: OLD s.v. scrinium Sib.

When compared with Mart. 14.38 fascēs calamārū, it becomes probable that the scrinium is costly. One can observe additionally that if it were reserved for choice literature (see below), this would imply quality.

1 constrictos...libellos: Constrictos (A²C²) is very attractive, assuming that constringere can mean 'cram full' or 'pack tightly': this scrinium threatens to let in tineae and blattae if it is not absolutely full, the joke being that if it really were crammed full, there would be no room anyway, even for the tiniest creatures. That constringere thus used cannot be paralleled in surviving literature is not an over-riding objection, given that it has majority MS support, is lectio difficilior and that there are numerous rare usages and hapax legomena in the Apophoreta (see Appendix 1).

Selectos, T, would not be without point, however, given the Saturnalia's association with bad literature (see Mart. 14.183-196 n. below). Consumption by worms etc. was the commonplace fate of inferior

or unfashionable literature (see Kay at Mart. 11.1.14 and Coleman's detailed note at Stat. Silv. 4.9.10), and this bookcase would then be threatening with its just deserts anything second rate that it was forced to harbour.

2: Coleman (loc. cit.) comments generally on the danger posed by worms etc. to papyrus. She quotes L.Cassius Hemina, cited by Pliny, Nat. 13.86, who describes a box (arca) buried on the Janiculum which contained papyri from the time of Numa. These papyri owed their survival not only to the box, but to their treatment with cedar-oil, apparently the usual protective (see Turner p.3).

Tinea is a loose term for maggots, grubs, worms and other such creatures. It is commonly used for bookworms and the like: cf. Mart. 6.61.7 'quam multi (auctores) tineas pascunt blattasque disertis', Juv. 7.26, Stat. Silv. 4.9.10 with Coleman in detail ad loc. It is also used of creatures harmful to clothing.

trucesque blattas: The blatta (a word of uncertain etymology) appears fairly often in conjunction with tineae. It seems to have avoided the light, and gave off a purple colour when trapped (hence its name, according to Isid. Orig. 12.8.7). In addition to Mart. 6.61.7 (quoted above), M. refers to it elsewhere as a creature destructive to books at 13.1.1 ff. 'ne.../...inopem metuat sordida blatta famem,/ perdit Niliacas, Musae,...papyros'.

Of other book-destroyers, mice were most prominent; for discussion, see Courtney at Juv. 3.207 'rodebant...mures'.

Trux is better suited to creatures fiercer than blattae: V.Fl. 2.73 (ursi), Ovid Met. 10.715 (aper). It is used in humorous hyperbole of a goat at Ovid Ars 3.193 and Catul. 69.6.

14.38 Bundles of pens

The land of Memphis gives pens suitable for papyrus. Let your roofs be thatched by other marshland.

le. fasces calamorum: The connection between this epigram and the last seems to be papyrus: the scrinium protects it while these pens are suitable for writing on it. Reed pens were very common. Cf. Mart. 14.20.1 (note the illustration in Drane referred to at Mart. 14.20.le.), 209.2, and see OLD s.vv. calamus §2a and harundo §2d. See too Blümner Priv. p.471 and Marquardt Prl. p.823 n.5. They would not have been expensive. Indeed, it is specifically stated at Mart. 14.20.2 that pens were cheap.

1 Memphitica tellus: i.e. Egypt. (For Memphis, see at Mart. 14.150.1 below.) According to Pliny, Nat. 16.157, Egyptian reeds did not in fact make the best pens, as is perhaps suggested here, but they were favoured nonetheless, Egypt being the source of papyrus: 'chartisque serviunt calami, Aegyptii maxime cognatione quadam papyri; probatiores tamen Cnidii et qui in Asia circa Anaeticum lacum nascuntur'.

2: While Egyptian reeds might be suitable for pens, they were not to be used for roofing material: for roofing, any reed would do and the builder of a thatched dwelling need not have looked further than the nearest marsh. For reeds used for thatch, see ThLL VI(2).2542.26 ff.

s.v. harundo [Brinkl] (calamus survives only here, it seems, of thatch, and then its use is implicit rather than actual); cf. Pliny Nat. 16.156 'tegulo earum [i.e. aquaticarum harundinum] domus suas septentrionales populi operiunt, durantque aevis tecta talia', Plaut. Rud. 122 'quin tu in paludem is exicasque harundinem, / qui pertegamus villam, dum sudumst?'.
 10

14.39-44: These epigrams deal with lighting equipment.

14.39 A bedroom lamp

You may do what you will: a lamp and witness to your pleasure-giving couch, I shall keep quiet.

For M's hendecasyllables, see Intro. 'Metre'; cf. Mart. 14.40 below:
the metre helps identify these poems as a pair.

le. This lucerna cubicularis is probably an ordinary oil lamp, perhaps kept on a stand, which owes its adjective simply to the room it lights. Nevertheless, while it can refer simply to a bedroom, cubiculum can also have specific reference to the sexual activities which go on within: OLD s.v. cubiculum Sib. In the context of this epigram, cubicularis might have this specific application. The adjective occurs again in Book 14 at 147.1e.

In contrast to the candle of Mart. 14.40 (note line 1 'ancillam...lucernae'), this oil lamp is a rich man's gift. (Notice the alternation of lamp and candle in epigrams 14.39-42.)

D-S III(2) p.1320 col. 2 ff. s.v. lucerna [J.Toutain] discusses lamps generally; cf. Mart. 14.61.1e. n. dealing with lanterns.

1 conscia...lucerna: Cf. Ovid Ars 2.703 'conscius...lectus'. The lamp as a silent witness to erotic activity is an epigrammatic commonplace; cf. A.P. 5.4, 128.4, 166.7-8, Mart. 11.104.5 (with Kay in some detail ad loc.). Note also Mart. 10.38.6 ff.: 'o quae proelia, quas utrimque pugnas/ felix lectulus et lucerna vidit/ nimbis ebria Nicerotianis!'.

While lamp-light might have been acceptable to Ovid, he considered further illumination a bad idea: 'nec lucem in thalamos totis admitte fenestris:/ aptius in vestro corpore multa latent' (Ars 3.807-8); cf. Ars 2.619 f., Am. 1.5.7 f. M., on the other hand, prefers to see what he is doing, despite his lady's pudor: 'me ludere teste lucerna/ et iuvat admissa rumpere luce latus' (Mart. 11.104.5-6).

2 dulcis...lectuli: For dulcis meaning 'affording enjoyment' and used of love, cf. Hor. Carm. 1.9.15. The diminutive lectulus is quite common. It agrees here with the context of love-making, reinforcing dulcis (compare the use of diminutives in endearments). While lectus can be used of a bed within wedlock (OLD s.v. lectus s2), the lamp's undertaking to keep quiet might indicate extra-marital sex here (although see further below).

2 quidquid vis faciat licet, tacebo: If not illicit, then kinky sex might be suggested by this line. The fear of having one's sexual activities and antics revealed is exploited by Ovid at Am. 2.8.27-8 'quoque loco tecum fuerim quotiensque, Cypassi,/ narrabo dominae quotque quibusque modis' (although Cypassis is there additionally afraid of punishment for having slept with her mistress' lover). Ovid gives a catalogue of sexual positions at Ars 3.771 ff.; cf. 2.679 ff.

14.40 A candle

The lot has given you the lamp's slave-girl, who spends the whole night awake.

For M's hendecasyllables, see Intro. 'Metre'. See too at Mart. 14.39 above.

le. cicindela B⁴C⁴: candela Itali (deest A⁴). The cicindela is actually the glow-worm or fire-fly (luciola Italica): cf. Pliny Nat. 18.250 'lucentes vespere per arva cicindelae - ita appellant rustici stellantes volatus, Graeci vero, lampyridas', Paul ap. Fest. 42M. It is not inconceivable, given that M. is describing a poor man's light, that he might have been referring to a real glow-worm in a container, but it is far more probable (given testified practice - see below) that he means a candle. If a candle, this is by far the earliest definite instance extant of cicindela with this meaning; cf. A.L. 1.185. le. de cicindelo (although this might be an editorial heading), CGL II.338.24 κανδύλα cicindela (cf. the Humanist gloss on M's lemma). Further (late) references are gathered at ThLL III.1050.48 ff. s.v. cicendela [Probst]. Rare usages are, however, exceedingly common in the Apophoreta: see Appendix 1.

Candles were made of reed or (later) rope dipped in tallow or pitch: cf. Varro L. 5.119 'candelabrum a candela: ex his enim funiculi ardentes figebantur', Servius at Verg. A. 1.727, Pliny Nat. 16.178; see Paoli p.81, Forbes VI pp.131 ff. Although unknown to the Greeks, they were common in Rome from the earliest times (Paoli p.81).

The candle was the usual light of the poor; see Juv. 3.236 ff. 'me, quem luna solet deducere vel breve lumen/ candelae, cuius dispenso et

tempero filum,/ contemnit' with Mayor ad loc; cf. Festus 54.16M quoted at Mart. 14.42 below.

Candles were customary Saturnalian gifts. For their significance, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D.

1 sors: See at Mart. 14.1.5.

ancillam: The candle is the lamp's ancilla since it is worth little in comparison. No exact parallel of this usage survives, but cf. Apul. Met. 5.23 'lucerna...amoris vile ministerium'.

2: Vigil is used of lamps at Hor. Carm 3.8.14; cf. Ovid Ars 3.463 'vigiles flammis' of the Vestals' fire. It is reinforced by 'totas...tenebras'; cf. Plaut. Aul. 72 'pervigilat noctes totas'.

exigit: The Loeb translates 'dispels complete darkness'. It makes better sense to translate as above; cf. Ovid Ep. 18.69 'cur ego tot viduas exegi frigida noctes', Sen. Ep. 70.9 'triginta...dies in carcere...exigit'; see OLD s.v. exigo §6a. Not only does this accord with vigil, but it perhaps suggests too that the candle, although cheaper, is as good as a lamp since it serves the same function with equal efficiency, having the capacity to burn all night; cf. Mart. 14.62, 104 below.

Shackleton Bailey reaches the same conclusion, but gives no discussion (p. 295).

14.41 A lamp with many wicks

Although I light whole banquets with my flames, and have so many wicks, I am called a single lamp.

1e. lucerna polymyxos: Polymyxos (i.e. πολύμυξος) does not survive elsewhere in either Latin or Greek. Nevertheless, lamps with as many as 14 wicks have been found at Pompeii; see D-S III(2) p.1320 col. 2 ff. s.v. lucerna [J.Toutain]: note especially figs 4579 (a ring shaped lamp for suspending from a ceiling e.g. at a banquet), 4580, 4593. See also BM Q 388 Bailey, a clay lamp with 12 nozzles from the sanctuary of Demeter at Cnidus (2nd Cent. B.C.); cf. BM Q 384 Bailey (same provenance and date), a lamp with three nozzles. Note further Bailey plates 5a, 8 and p.10: 'Two-wick lamps are very common. Exceptional lamps, often found in sanctuaries, can have several hundred wicks', Blümner Priv. p.136 n.10.

Such lamps would be expensive to burn: Bailey pp. 10-11 quoted at Mart. 14.43.2 uncta lucerna. Compared with the wax candle of Mart. 14.42, this was a rich man's gift.

1: On the orthography of inlustrem, see Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.42.

2: Myxos does not survive elsewhere in Classical Latin: ThLL VIII.1763.4 s.v. myxus [B], although cf. μύξα at Arat. 976, Call. Epigr. 55.1 Pf., P.Grenf. 2.111.25 (v/vi A.D.). L-S (s.v. myxos/ myxus) would favour reading myxas, i.e. a Greek 1st decl. acc. pl.; cf. the reading of the Itali. Myxos can derive some support from later Latin usage, however: see Heraeus ad loc. citing Vit. Patrum 5.11.37 and A.H.Salonius, Vit. Patrum, Lund 1920, p.407; cf. Lib. Pontif. p.63.12 (Mommson) where nixus

occurs. Myxa is not attested.

The distinction between a lamp's wick and spout is easily blurred. Pliny uses rostrum for a lamp-nozzle at Nat. 28.163.

14.42 A wax candle

This wax candle will give you light at night, for your lamp has been stolen from your boy.

An unattributed version of this epigram appears at Isid. Orig. 20.10.3: 'hic tibi nocturnos praestabo cereus ignes:/ [nam] subducta luce altera lux tibi sum'. As to how the differences arose, one can but speculate. Despite them, both versions make plain that the cereus was a substitute for the lamp, and is therefore a poor man's gift (cf. below).

le. cereus: The cereus was the traditional counterpart of the candela (Blümner Priv. p.135), differing in that it was made of wax rather than pitch or tallow and therefore gave better light. A client would customarily give a cereus to his patron at the Saturnalia; cf. Festus 54.16M 'cereos Saturnalibus muneri dabant humiliores potentioribus, quia candelis pauperes, locupletes cereis utebantur', Varro L. 5.64 'Saturnalibus cerei superioribus mittuntur', Mart. 5.18.2, Macr. Sat. 1.11.49, Stat. Sily. 4.9.40 with Coleman ad loc. Note also A.P. 6.249.1-4 (Antipater Thessalonica):

λαμπάδα κηροχίτωνα, Κρόνου τυφήρεα λύχνον,
σχόινω καὶ λεπτῇ σφιγγομένην παπύρῳ,
'Αντίπατρος πείσωνι φέρει γέρας· ἦν δέ μ' ἀνάψας
εὐξεται, λάμπω φέγγος ἀκουσίθεον.

For general discussion of candles and tapers, and for the significance

of candles at the Saturnalia, see Mart. 14.40 above, Intro. 'Saturnalia', section D.

1: For ignis meaning 'light' rather than 'fire', see OLD s.v. ignis s2d, ThLL VII(1).290.75 ff. s.v. ignis [Raubenbauer]; cf. Stat. Achill. 1.121-2, V.Fl. 1.841-3 'quos omnes...lampada quassans/ progenies Atlantis agit. lucet via late/ igne dei'.

2 subducta est puero namque lucerna tuo: Slaves were employed to light their masters' way at night: see at Mart. 14.61.le. below. Some, no doubt, looked after their lighting equipment better than others.

14.43 A Corinthian candelabrum

Candles gave us our ancient name. The well oiled lamp did not know our thrifty forefathers.

le. candelabrum Corinthium: a rich man's present as opposed to the wooden candelabrum of Mart. 14.44. Corinthian bronze was famous and nearly as costly as gold: Pliny Nat. 34.1; cf. Petr. 50.2 'solus sum qui vera Corinthia habeam' and see Smith ad loc., L-S s.v. Corinthius SIIA2. Cf. also Cic. Att. 2.1.11, Mart. 9.59.11 and 14.172, 177 below. Pliny identifies three varieties (<Nat. 34.8), that in which the main ingredient was silver, that in which the main ingredient was gold, and that containing equal quantities of gold and silver. He tells the story (<Nat. 34.6) that it was first produced by accident when Corinth was sacked by Rome.

Candelabra could be very ornate, expensive and fine; cf. e.g. Cic. Ver. 4.60 'lectos aeratos et candelabra aenea', Vitr. 7.173, Pliny Nat.

34.11. For candelabra generally, see Blümner Priv. pp.139 ff., R.E. III.1461.42 ff. s.v. candelabrum [Mau]. Concerning Corinthian bronze candelabra, see R.E. loc. cit. 1462.60 ff. D-S I(2) p.869 col. 2 ff. s.v. candelabrum [E.Sagliol] offers a long, detailed and well-illustrated entry. Note esp. figs 1080 (a bronze candelabrum), 1087, 1088.

1 nomina candela nobis antiqua dederunt: M's etymology is correct; cf. Isid. Orig. 20.10.3 'candelabrum a candelis dictum est', Fest. 46.7M; see Blümner Priv. p.139 n.10. Nevertheless, later candelabra supported lamps, as does this one.

nomina...antiqua: Cf. Ovid Met. 14.396 'nec quicquam antiquum Pico nisi nomina restant'. Antiquus is used of an object which has its origins in the past (OLD s.v. antiquus §5a), although the object might have developed or changed in the course of time. In addition, however, it has connotations of past simplicity, goodness and thrift: L-S s.v. antiquus §IIc, OLD s.v. antiquus §9a. Thus M. points the contrast between the candelabrum's simple origins (cf. parcos...patres) and its current luxuriousness (uncta lucerna).

2 non norat parcos uncta lucerna patres: M. achieves humour by reversing the usual topos 'Our forefathers did not know...' referring to some modern luxury; cf. Ovid Fast. 6.175-6 'nec Latium norat, quam praebet Ionia dives, / nec quae Pygmaeo sanguine gaudet avis'.

The lamp is uncta partly because it burned olive-oil. But in addition, the adjective has connotations of saturation (OLD s.v. unctus §1a) and of opulent extravagance, for instance being used of expensive unguents:

Fordyce at Catul. 10.11 'cur quisquam caput unctius referret'. Thus the lamp is described by a term which contrasts markedly with the humble source of the candelabrum's name, emphasizing that this present is not a poor man's. (For the candle as a poor man's light, see Mart. 14.40.le. n. above).

On the different oils used and the expense of lamp-fuel, see Bailey pp. 10-11: '...it must be remembered that when burning oil in lamps one is actually burning food, so only societies producing a food surplus could afford to use lamps extensively, and areas which had to import edible oils would be inclined to use them for cooking rather than fuel'. (Note that unctus can be applied to very rich food: OLD s.v. unctus §1b.)

Pater occurs commonly of forefathers: OLD s.v. pater §3a, L-S s.v. pater §II B. Parcus, when not derogatory, typically connotes old-time simplicity, goodness, honesty, frugality and moral rectitude: Cic. de Or. 2.287, Ovid Met. 7.656, Hor. Carm. 3.16.43, Col. RR 10 pr. 1 'cum parciore apud priscos esset frugalitas'; cf. antiqua above.

14.44 A wooden candelabrum

You see I am wood. Unless you watch over the light, you will have a huge lamp from the lamp-stand.

le. candelabrum ligneum: In direct contrast to the Corinthian lamp-stand, this is a poor man's gift. Wood was the most common material used for candelabra: Caecil. ap. Non. 202.14M 'candelabrum ligneum ardentem', Petr. 95.6; see R.E. III.1462.68 ff. s.v. candelabrum [Mau]. Wooden candelabra must have caught fire regularly; cf. Caecil. quoted above. General information on lampstands is given at Mart. 14.43.le. n. above.

1: Lignum is often used with depreciatory force of wooden objects: OLD s.v. lignum §3a; cf. Mart. 14.12.2 vilia ligna of a cheap money-box. It is also used of firewood (OLD s.v. lignum §1), a meaning appropriate perhaps both to this lamp-stand's inferior quality and its propensity to catch fire.

1-2 servas nisi lumina, fiet/ de candelabro magna lucerna tibi: No doubt many of Rome's fires began in this way; see Forbes VI p.122. For the danger of fire in Rome, see Carcopino pp. 44-5; cf. the rescripts of Severus and Antoninus at dig. 1.15.4 'insularios et eos, qui neglegenter ignes apud se habuerint, potes fustibus vel flagellis caedi iubere', noting that 'praefecti vigilum' were charged (dig. 1.15.3.4) 'ut curam adhibeant omnes inquilinos admonere ne neglegentia aliqua incendii casus oriatur. praeterea ut aquam unusquisque inquilinus in cenaculo habeat'.

14.45-48:

This section deals with ball games. Evaluation of these gifts is difficult. Mart. 14.45 pila paganica is R by position, and a case can possibly be made on the grounds that feathers had value (cf. Intro. 'Order'. When commenting on the order of epigrams, one can note that soft and hard balls are alternated. Thus the pairing of these epigrams is undoubted, for all their values might not be.)

It was common to play ball games as part of one's exercise before taking a bath: cf. Petr. 27, Mart. 7.32.7 ff.:

non pila, non follis, non te paganica thermis
praeparat aut nudi stipitis ictus hebes,
vara nec in lento ceromate bracchia tendis,
non harpasta vagus pulverulenta rapis,
sed...

This section on ball games is therefore very much part of a larger section culminating naturally with strigils (Mart. 14.51) and oil flask (Mart. 14.52-3).

With Mart. 7.32.7 ff., cf. Mart. 4.19.5 ff.:

seu lentum ceroma teris tepidumve trigona
sive harpasta manu pulverulenta rapis,
plumea seu laxi partiris pondera follis
sive... ;

see Balsdon LL. p.163 (who notes that manuals of instruction were published, although none bar a treatise by Galen survives (V.899-910 K.)). Ovid, however, tells us that such manuals, written in verse, provided Saturnalian entertainment: Trist. 2.485).

The ball games referred to here varied in strenuousness. Detailed discussion is given ad loc. In general, see Blümner Priv. pp.439 ff., R.E. II.2832 ff. s.v. Ballspiel [Maul], esp. 2833.9 ff., D-S IV(1) p.475 col. 2 ff. s.v. pila [G.Lafaye], Harris ch. 3, Gardiner ch. 18. Note too F.W.Robins, 'Man's plaything, the ball', Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Sociology, vol. IV, Rome 1950, pp. 1-12.

14.45 A country ball

This country ball which swells with unmanageable feathers is less flaccid than an inflated ball and less firm than a hard one.

le. pila paganica: Paganica (of extremely doubtful etymology) appears to survive thus used only in M. (ThLL X.77.80 ff. s.v. paganic(i)us [Flury]). Its usual meaning is 'of/ belonging to village people'. Perhaps a feather-stuffed ball first appeared in rural areas, townsmen having less access to suitable birds. Certainty is, however, impossible.

1 turget: Turgidus often means 'swollen' and is therefore appropriate to feather-stuffing; cf. Apul. Met. 6.9 (there used of pregnancy), Pers. 3.98, Juv. 1.143 (of post-prandial stomachs). Cf. the meanings of tumeo and tumesco: see OLD s.vv. tumeo S1a, tumesco S1a and L-S s.vv. tumeo S11a, tumesco S1.

It is not clear why the feathers stuffing this ball are difficili (TB^a: difficilis C^a): whether feathers are manageable or not is irrelevant in the context of the poem. Shackleton Bailey prints 'de facili', but parallels for 'turgere de', if they exist, are not easily to be found. Since I do not have an alternative suggestion, obelising seems the best course.

2 folle minus laxa est: Cf. Mart. 12.82.5 'laxum...follem', 4.19.7 cited above (Mart. 14.45-48 n.); see Marquardt Pr1. p.842, R.E. 6.2829.44 ff. s.v. follis [Seeck], Balsdon LL. p.166.

Concerning the follis, see in greater detail at Mart. 14.47 below. It was air-filled and, in the absence of the modern valve and a rubber bladder, could not be pumped hard.

et minus arta pila: A variety of pila was probably the ball used for trigon: Mart. 14.46 below and possibly 2.7.6, Prop. 3.14.5. It was a hard ball and games played with it were fast, unlike those played with the follis: see at Mart. 14.47 'ite procul iuvenes'. It seems logical that games involving the 'country ball' were therefore of moderate strenuousness.

14.46 A trigon ball

If you know how to deflect me with a swift left hand, I am yours. If you don't, give the ball back, Clumsy.

le. pila trigonalis: For the pila, cf. Mart. 14.45.2. That types of pila could be used for games other than trigon is suggested by the use of trigonalis, an adjective, incidentally, which survives only in M. (Similarly, the game of trigon, for all its Greek name, is described in Latin sources only. For the form trigon, see Giorgio Pasquali, Storia della tradizione e critica del testo, Florence 1934, p.382 n.2.)

The game was taken very seriously. There were three players who stood in a triangle and threw several balls to one another. Each player would feint and dummy, trying to mislead his opponents when throwing. He would have his own (often raucous) scorer (a pilicrepus: CIL IV.1905, 1926) whose job seems to have been to count the missed catches of his player's opponents (cf. Sen. Ep. 56.1 'si vero pilicrepus supervenit et numerare coepit pilas, actum est'), the winner being the one with the lowest tally of dropped catches: it is only thus that one can make sense of Mart.12.82.3 f. where the sycophant Mynogenes stands besides players to catch balls they miss; see Balsdon LL. p.165. (Marquardt believed that each player had a long-stop to field missed balls, as well as a scorer: Prl. p.844 f., citing CIL IV.1936 'Amianthus, Epaphra, Tertius ludant; cum Hedysto Iucundus Nolanus petat; numeret Citus et Acus Amiantho'). It is possible, but not certain, that the game Trimalchio plays is a type of trigon (Smith at Petr. 27.3), although in his version, the winner is he who drops most catches, i.e. Trimalchio.

The game was extremely fast and vigorous, in contrast to those played with the country balls of Mart. 14.45; cf. Mart. 4.19.5 ff. (quoted at

Mart. 14.45-48 n. above), 12.82.3 'tepidum...trigonem', 7.72.9 'de trigone nudo' (which indicates that players stripped for action), Hor. Serm. 1.6.125 f. 'ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum/ admonuit, fugio Campum lusumque trigonem'; see Mart. 14.47.1 n.

1 mobilibus...sinistris: Mobilibus is Scaliger's excellent emendation of nobilibus codd.: a good player was very agile; cf. Laus. Pis. 185 ff. 'nec tibi mobilitas minor est, si forte volantem/ aut geminare pilam iuvat aut revocare cadentem/ et non sperato fugientem reddere gestu', Sen. Ben. 2.17.4 'si cum exercitato et docto negotium est, audacius pilam mittemus; utcumque enim venerit, manus illam expedita et agilis repercutiet; si cum tirone et indocto, non tam rigide nec tam excusse sed languidius et in ipsam eius derigentes manum remisse occurremus', 32.1 'sicut in lusu est aliquid pilam scite ac diligenter excipere, sed non dicitur bonus lusor, nisi qui apte et expedite remisit quam acceperat'. While either hand could be used, a skilful left-handed catch was greatly admired; cf. Mart. 7.72.11 'nec laudet Polybi magis sinistras', 12.82.3 'captabit tepidum dextra laevaue trigonem', and see Marquardt Prl. p.844 f. and n.9.

Scis is countered by nescis in line 2. As Schneidewin observes, nosti ut vid. A^a (<nostris T) is objectionable since M. would not have elided a long syllable at the beginning of the fourth foot.

Expulsare is post-Augustan and rare. ThLL V(2).1812.55 ff. s.v. expulso [Oellacher] and the OLD s.v. expulso cite only this epigram to illustrate its use in the context of ball-games; cf., however, Varro

Men. 207.1-2 Riese 'videbis Romae in foro...pueros pila expulsim ludere', Petr. 27.3 '(pilae) quae inter manus lusu expellente vibrabant', at which Smith remarks 'The verb expellere appears to have had some technical meaning; possibly it was used when a player did not catch the ball but punched it or knocked it with the flat of his hand on towards another player'. (Given that the ball was hard (cf. Mart. 14.45.2), deflection rather than punching appears most likely. Deflection, too, accords with a swift, energetic and unpredictable game).

L-S s.v. pila §3 connects pellere (whence expulsare) possibly with pila, but to do so is perhaps a little fanciful.

2: Sum tua operates on two levels: if the recipient of the gift is a competent player, he can keep his Saturnalia present. In addition, the words recall 'mea pila est', i.e. 'I've won'; cf. Plaut. Truc. 706 and see Otto s.v. pila §1: if the recipient is a competent player, he will not drop catches. (For the connotations of clumsiness in rusticus, see OLD s.v. rusticus §4b; see too s.v. rustice §1b. Rusticus perhaps suggests here that one who drops catches should be content with the pila paganica of Mart. 14.45.)

si nescis: si B^{AC}: tu T. Both readings are metrically sound, but si has majority support, contributes to a well balanced epigram and finds a parallel in the repeated si at Mart. 14.212.

Redde pilam, like sum tua, can work at two levels. It might refer simply to the gift: if the recipient is incompetent, he should return

the present. Alternatively, there might be a technical sense: it might mean 'stop playing' (because you're not good enough); cf. Mart. 14.163.1 (where it is time to go and bath).

14.47 A bladder ball

Be away with you, young men: gentle years suit me - it befits boys, it it befits old men to play with a bladder ball.

le. follis: Cf. Mart. 14.45.2 n. above. The word is etymologically linked with our 'ball' (see OLD s.v. follis), but can also refer to a bag/ sack or bellows. It was the most common variety of Roman ball, and its air-filled softness and lightness (cf. Mart. 4.19.7) ensured that it was suitable for children and the elderly. It was invented, according to tradition, for Pompey the Great by his trainer Atticus of Naples, possibly when he was recovering from his serious illness in Campania in the spring of 50 B.C. (Balsdon LL, p.166). We know that Augustus played with the follis when he abandoned serious exercise after the civil wars. Mart. 12.82.5 suggests that the greatest exertion involved in a game of follis was required when picking up a dropped ball. General information can be found at Blümner Priv. p.439; cf. Marquardt Prl. p.842, R.E. VI.2829.44 ff. s.v. follis [Seeck].

1 Ite procul, iuvenes adds a mock religious note, recalling the cry of an officiating priest to the impure at a sacrifice; cf. Verg. A. 6.258 'procul, o procul este, profani', Tib. 2.1.11. These young men are directed to energetic games like trigon in the previous epigram, which characterises youthful activity; cf. Pliny Ep. 3.1.8 'deinde movetur

pila vehementer et diu, nam hoc quoque exercitationis genere pugnat cum senectute'.

mitis...aetas: The adjective can apply both to the very young and to the middle aged/ old, but is unsuitable for vigorous youth. The three ages are characterised at Cic. Sen. 33: 'infirmetas puerorum et ferocitas iuvenum et gravitas iam constantis aetatis' (where the elder Cato does not recognise any form of ball game as suitable for the elderly - possibly because Cicero well knew that the follis was introduced a century after Cato's death: Balsdon LL. p.166).

The fate of an obsessive player grown too old for ball games (presumably of the faster variety) is mocked at Mart. 10.86:

nemo nova caluit sic inflammatus amica,
flagravit quanto Laurus amore pilae.
sed qui primus erat lusor dum floruit aetas,
nunc postquam desit ludere, prima pila est.

2: On equal pentameter halves, see Intro. 'Metre'. The metrical balance here helps convey the gentle exertion of the young and the old for which youthful bloods are temperamentally unsuited.

14.48 A scrummage ball

The swift athlete, who makes his neck mighty with futile labour, snatches these in the dust of Antaeus.

le. Harpasta were the smallest balls used by the Romans. They were stuffed with hair. The game played with them was very strenuous: cf. Mart. 7.67.4-6 (similar to Juv. 6.420) describing a butch woman who plays a rough male game: 'harpasto quoque subligata ludit/ et flavescit haphe, gravesque draucis/ halteras facili rotat lacerto', and see below

at Antaeus, line 1. Athenaeus, 1.14f-15a (trans. C.B. Gulick, Loeb), gives a description:

τὸ δὲ καλούμενον διὰ τῆς σφαίρας ἄρπαστὸν φαίνινδα ἔκαλεῖτο, ὃ ἐγὼ πάντων μάλιστα ἀσπάζομαι.

Πολὺ δὲ τὸ σύντονον καὶ καματηρὸν τῆς περὶ τὴν σφαιριστικὴν ἀμίλλης τότε κατὰ τοὺς τραχηλισμοὺς ῥωμαλέον. Ἀντιφάνης·

οἱμοὶ κακοδαίμων, τὸν τράχηλον ὥς ἔχω.
διηγεῖται δὲ τὴν φαίνινδα παιδιὰν οὕτως Ἀντιφάνης·

σφαῖραν λαβὼν
τῷ μὲν διδοὺς ἔχαιρε, τὸν δ' ἔφευγ' ἅμα,
τοῦ δ' ἐξεκρουσε, τὸν δ' ἀνέστησαν πάλιν,
κλαγκτάϊσι φωναῖς...
ἔξω, μακράν, παρ' αὐτόν, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, κάτω,
ἄνω, βραχεῖαν, ἀπόδος ἐν καταστροφῇ.

'The game called harpastum was formerly called phaininda, which is the kind I like best of all.

'Great are the exertion and fatigue attendant upon contests of ball playing, and violent twisting and turning of the neck. Hence Antiphanes, "Damn me, what a pain I've got in my neck". He describes the game of phaininda thus: "He seized the ball and passed it with a laugh to one, while the other player he dodged; from one he pushed it out of the way, while he raised another player to his feet amid resounding cries of 'Out of bounds', 'Too far', 'Right beside him', 'Over his head', 'On the ground', 'Up in the air', 'Too short', 'Pass it back in the scrum'."'

See too Balsdon LL. p.164.

Scholars have attempted to reconstruct the rules of the game but, in the absence of surviving depictions, have shown caution. Nevertheless, Gardiner, pp. 232 ff., observes generally that, despite textual difficulties in Athenaeus, one can say that he describes two or more players passing the ball to one another so as to avoid a player between them.

The name harpastum (cf. ἄρπάζω, and note rapit, line 1) might indicate a monkey scrum (during which the dust would be scooped up by snatching fingers; cf. 'Antaei...in pulvere' (line 1), Mart. 7.67.5 'et flavescit happe', 4.19.6 'sive harpasta manu pulverulenta rapis', 7.32.10). At any rate, for convenience, such a scrum is henceforth assumed.

The etymology of φαίνιδα is uncertain; Athenaeus offers some suggestions at 1.15a, e.g. from Phainestius, supposedly the inventor.

1: Antaeus was a Libyan giant killed by Hercules. He was invincible as long as he remained in contact with the ground. 'The dust of Antaeus' symbolises a tremendous struggle (cf. the ironic Juv. 3.88-9).

velox...draucus: A signal would presumably mark the beginning of play. Thereupon the scrummagers would have to move quickly to scoop the ball out to their team-mates first.

Another draucus appears at Mart. 7.67.5 (the word is probably Gallic, being a frequent Gallic personal name: OLD s.v. draucus); cf. Kay at Mart. 11.72.1. Housman notes (Class. Pap. p.1166 f.) that the draucus was known principally for athletic prowess, although he came to be regarded also for his supposed enhanced sexuality (cf. Mart. 9.27.10 f.). Draucus is not used sexually here, however.

2 grandia qui vano colla labore facit: A squat short neck was thought necessary for a wrestler (Courtney at Juv. 3.88; cf. Philostr. Gymn. 35: a wrestler should not be ὑψαύχην), and was no doubt also of great use to a scrummager.

Whether the scrummager would develop his physique only in the course of playing harpasta or whether, as is quite possible, he followed a separate course of exercises designed for this purpose is not made clear. What is certain is that M. shared the Roman view that exercise which brought nothing more than large muscles was futile. (Pliny, Nat. 14.140, reports that the stated object of foreign exercise and rolling

in the mud was to work up a thirst, but to do so just for its own sake would, to a pragmatic Roman, also have lacked point.) If these muscles resulted incidentally from the useful exertion e.g. of trenching vineyards, however, that was another matter (see at Mart. 14.49.2 'exercet melius vinea fossa viros').

14.49 Dumb bells

Why are strong arms wasted on silly dumb bells? Trenching a vineyard exercises men better.

le. halteres: Alteres codd., but although initially the aspirate was not applied to Greek loan words, this had changed by Catullus' time: Fordyce p. 374. The change is initially discernible in inscriptions from the mid 2nd Century B.C. and became well established in the 1st Century A.D.; see too Ellis at Catul. 84.

The scholiast at Juv. 6.421 'gravi...massa' comments '<h>alteras dicit, quibus utuntur athletae cum exercent<ur>'. Halteres were used either as dumb-bells (Gardiner p.153) or, as in the Juvenal, by long-jumpers to give themselves impetus when leaping. (Gardiner ch. 10 gives a detailed discussion of long-jump technique.) They might weigh from 2.5 to 10 pounds (approx. 1-4.5 kg), although the latter weight was exceptional.

General discussions and references can be found at Blümner Priv. p.329 n.14, D-S III(1) p.5 col. 1 ff. s.v. halter [A. de Ridder], R.E. VII.2284.15 ff. s.v. halter [Jüthner], Gardiner loc. cit., Harris p. 35 f., Greek Athletes and Athletics, London 1964, pp.80 ff., N.B.Crowther, GR 24 (1977), p.118. Note too ThLL VI(2). 2520.22 ff. s.v. (h)alter [Rubenbauer]. Gardiner (figs 100 and 101) and D-S loc. cit. give

illustrations. Regarding the value of dumb-bells, see at Mart. 14.50 le. below.

1: Pereo meaning 'waste' is quite common: see L-S s.v. pereo SIIB3, OLD s.v. pereo §2. With stulto, cf. Sen. Ep. 15.2 'stulta est...et minime conveniens litterato viro occupatio exercendi lacertos et dilatandi cervicem ac latera firmandi'.

2 exercet melius vinea fossa viros: On participial phrases operating as substantival clauses, see Woodcock §95, H-Sz. II p.393 f.

As is hinted by pereo above, the true spirited Roman man (viros carries emphasis) scorned as a waste of time and effort the exercises imported from Greece, since they achieved nothing worthwhile - like agricultural profit; for conservative attitudes towards Greek athletics, see Balsdon LL. p.162 f., Friedländer SG. II p.122 f., Courtney at Juv. 3.68 ceromatico.

This is not to say that all Romans were this pragmatic, however: Varro complains at the end of the Republic that at least one gymnasium was regarded as essential to every villa (RR. 2.1.1). But M. was of the old school (cf. Mart. 14.48.2 n. above).

Viticulture was considered a truly worthwhile occupation; cf. Cato Agr. 1.7 'vinea est prima...secundo loco hortus irriguus...sexto campus frumentarius'; cf. also the implication of Hor. Carm. 2.15.4-5 (see N-H ad loc.): much criticised was the cultivation of trees for pleasure at the expense of olives and vines (for whose importance in antiquity, see K.D.White Farming p.224 f.). So great was the demand for wine and the high status accorded viticulture that grain production appears to have

been seriously affected; hence Domitian's unpopular vine edict of 91-2; for details, see Coleman at Stat. Silv. 4.3.11-12.

Vine trenching was extremely hard work (and therefore, to the pragmatic Roman, laudably productive exercise): see Thomas on Verg. G. 2.397 ff.:

est etiam ille labor curandis vitibus alter,
cui numquam exhausti satis est: namque omne quotannis
terque quaterque solum scindendum glaebaque versis
aeternum frangenda bidentibus, omne levandum
fronde nemus.

14.50 A skullcap

So that impure mud does not besmear your shining locks, you can cover your moist hair with this leather cap.

le. galericulum: When not a cap (OLD s.v. galerus S1a, D-S II(2) p.1452 col. 1 ff. s.v. galerus [Salomon Reinach] and fig. 3478), the galerus was a wig (Juv. 6.120. For wigs, see at Mart. 14.26.le. above). The diminutive survives elsewhere only at Suet. Otho 12.1 'galericulo capiti propter raritatem capillorum adaptato et adnexo, ut nemo dinosceret'. The cap would appear to have been leather, given 'hac...pelle' (line 2) and Verg. A. 7.688 f. 'fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros/ tegmen habent capiti'.

Both Mart. 14.49 and 50 describe items used by athletes or strong men. Although there is no contextual help in assigning values, a cap was probably cheaper than dumb-bells.

1 inmundum...ceroma: Ceroma is used by M. elsewhere at 4.19.5, 5.65.3, 7.32.9 and 11.47.5. In contrast, it survives only once in Juvenal

(6.246; for discussion, see Colton, p.256).

Ceroma has been misunderstood as referring to an ointment of sorts used by wrestlers. In fact it refers to the soft earth floor of the wrestling ring. Before engaging, combatants would be anointed with olive oil and would then roll in the ring, the mud which adhered to them providing their opponents with a better grip. More mud would stick during the course of a round. The need for a cap to protect one's hair is therefore easily comprehensible.

The practice of rolling in mud came to be followed by people other than serious wrestlers, who believed in its therapeutic value.

On the meaning of ceroma, see R.E. XI.326.53 ff. s.v. κήρωμα [Jüthner], Kay at Mart. 11.47.5 'Lacedaemonio luteum ceromate' and O.W.Reinmuth, 'The meaning of ceroma in Juvenal and Martial', Phoenix 21(1967), pp.191-195.

Luto, meaning literally 'besmear with mud/ clay' (see OLD s.v. luto s1a), is very appropriate to ceroma. (It survives of substances other than mud only at Pers. 3.104 'crassis...lutatus amomis'.)

For the orthography of inmundum, see Lindsay Orth.Mart. p.42.

nitidos...capillos: One would normally have nitidus hair (cf. λιπαρός) when going to a party (N-H I p.66), not when entering the ring. It is possible that M. refers merely to an athlete's initial anointing with olive oil, which might perhaps imbue the hair, but it is perhaps more likely that the cap's envisaged wearer is not a serious athlete but a fastidious health enthusiast (cf. above).

2: Madidas recalls nitidus. It is the usual adjective for hair anointed with unguents: see OLD s.v. madeo §2d; cf. Ovid Ep. 14.30, Met. 3.555.

14.51 Strigils

Pergamon sent these. Get yourself scraped down with curved iron: the launderer will not wear out your towels so often.

le. strigiles: Both R.E. IVA.364.21 s.v. strigilis [H.Miltner] and D-S IV(2) p.1533 col. 1 s.v. strigilis [Sorlin Dorigny] report that Pergamene strigils were especially famed, although only this epigram serves as evidence. And even if famed in origin, these strigils were iron (line 1) and so might well have been cheap. Assuming that this epigram is P, the consequences for the ordering of epigrams are important: see Intro. 'Order'.

Examples of strigils abound, although commonly in fragments. The Caerleon museum possesses a particularly fine example. In general, see D-S loc. cit.

1: For mitto of exports, see Mart. 14.114.2 n. below. The Loeb takes destringere as a passive imperative used like a Greek middle - i.e. 'scrape yourself'; see Woodcock p.14, H-Sz II pp. 288-9. In actual fact, this was difficult to do properly and slaves were usually brought or hired for the purpose: Carcopino p.284. A better translation (which nonetheless preserves some of the middle sense) is that given above; cf. tondeor cited by I.N.Madvig, A Latin Grammar transl. G.Woods, Oxford 1857, §222 obs 3 (a Roman would not have shaved himself).

2 teret lintea fullo: For fullers and their trade, see Blümner Priv. pp.256, 592 f., D-S II(2) p.1349 col. 2 s.v. fullonica [Alfred Jacob], Forbes IV pp.81 ff. At the end of the fulling process, cloth was subjected to a very severe brushing (Forbes IV p.93, fig. 5). If done too often, this would wear out the cloth. (At Petr. 42.1, bathing and fulling are compared, since bathing allegedly wears one away just as fullers' earth wears away cloth.)

Lintea were towels; cf. Petr. 91.1 'video Gitona cum linteis et strigilibus', Juv. 3.263. After being scraped down, one would then be wrapped up in them. This is illustrated by Petr. 28.2, which also indicates that towels were usually linen: 'iam Trimalchio unguenta perfusus tegebatur, non linteis, sed palliis ex lana mollissima factis' (see Blümner Priv. p.432 n. 11). The towels of those not properly scraped down would quickly become dirty.

14.52 A rhinoceros-horn flask

Recently seen in the Ausonian arena of the master, this will be for you, to which a bull was as a straw dummy.

The arguments for transposing this epigram (= Mart. 14.53 [L]) with Mart. 14.53 gutis corneus (= Mart. 14.52 [L]) are set out above: see Intro. 'Order'.

le.: Rhinoceros, referring specifically to an oil flask of rhinoceros horn, is rare, surviving here, at Mart. 14.53.2 and at Juv. 7.130-1 'magno cum rhinocerote lavari/ qui solet'. Rhinoceros horn was, of course, valuable, and is still used today to manufacture ceremonial drinking horns in India (Coleman p.5, cited in the Intro., 'Date' n.4).

Shackleton Bailey has questioned reading rhinoceros here (pp. 295-6), asserting that 'hic erit ille tibi' (line 2) means not 'will be yours', but 'will represent to you'. He suggests (cf. his textual apparatus) that this flask, like Mart. 14.52 [L] gutus corneus, is a convincing fake rhinoceros horn and that one should therefore read idem. Even if there were no case for transposition in the search for a workable RP sequence, this suggestion cannot stand, for the reasons set out below.

Firstly, 'hic erit tibi' means 'this will be a present for you' elsewhere in Mart. Book 14, e.g. at 21.1, 127.1-2, tibi being in any case most naturally a possessive dative; see Coleman cited above, p.6.

Secondly, other epigrams bearing the lemma 'idem' all refer in some way to the specific nature or function of the gift: note Mart. 14.8 Vitelliani and 14.9 idem (tabella, line 2); cf. 14.116 lagona nivaria, 14.117 idem ('aquam...recentem/ de nive', lines 1-2) and 14.118 idem ('nivalibus undis', line 1), 14.124 toga and 14.125 idem (toga, line 2), 14.157 lanae Pollentinae (note 'lugentes...lanas', line 1) and 14.158 idem ('lana...tristis', line 1), 14.165 cithara and 14.166 idem (note 'quae duxit silvas detinuitque feras', line 2 - an obvious reference to Orpheus and therefore his lyre; cf. 14.165.1 'reddidit Eurydicen vati'), 14.168 trochus and 14.169 idem (trochis, line 2), 14.206 ceston and 14.207 idem (ceston, line 1). Idem is therefore unlikely to be correct here. Rather, the epigram is a riddle to which the lemma supplies the answer; cf. Mart. 14.2.3 n. above. (For this argument, cf. Coleman loc.cit. p.6. Full explanations of the epigrams cited above can be found ad loc.)

Shackleton Bailey's alternative suggestion, that this epigram might describe a toy rhinoceros, is perverse, given the comparison of

rhinoceros and bull's horn at Mart. 14.53.

General discussion of the rhinoceros in Antiquity is given by E. Gowers, 'The Classical Rhinoceros', Antiquity 24(1950), pp. 61-71. A rhinoceros with a single horn was displayed by Pompey in 55 B.C. (Pliny Nat. 8.71), while in 29 B.C., when triumphing over Cleopatra, Augustus displayed a rhinoceros which possibly had two horns (Dio 51.22.5; that Augustus' rhinoceros had two horns is suggested by Coleman, loc. cit. p.3 f., in attempting to explain Dio's claim, in spite of Pliny, that Augustus' triumph was the first time a rhinoceros was seen at Rome. Suetonius records that Augustus also displayed a rhinoceros in the Saepta (the enclosure of which was completed by Agrippa in 26): Suet. Aug. 43.4. No doubt this was a different animal, however.) No reference to the rhinoceros at Rome predates the Elder Pliny and it is not until the Flavian period that the animal appears with any frequency in a single author, when in the corpus of M. there appear four epigrams dealing with the animal.

1-2: Cf. Mart. Sp. 9:

praestitit exhibitus tota tibi, Caesar, harena
 quae non promisit proelia rhinoceros.
 o quam terribilis exarsit pronus in iras!
 quantus erat taurus, cui pila taurus erat!

According to the Loeb ad loc., the rhinoceros was probably also called the 'bos Aethiopus'; cf. Festus 270M 'rhinocerotem quidam esse aiunt bovem Aegyptium' and the 'Indicos boves' at Pliny Nat. 8.72. A pun of sorts is possibly at work (cf. Coleman loc.cit. p.6).

The implication of the similarities between Sp. 9 and Mart. 14.52 for the date of Book 14 are discussed above: Intro. 'Date' n.4. For the

purposes of this note, the probability is accepted that the rhinoceroses in both poems are one and the same.

1 nuper in Ausonio domini spectatus harena: Domini might recall Domitian's title 'dominus et deus' (see Mart. 14.1.1 and 2 nn. above). That the title refers to Domitian and not some other emperor is confirmed by Ausonio, an adjective used on 32 occasions between them by Statius in the Silvae and by M. of or in connection with Domitian (for this point and much of what follows, see Coleman loc. cit. pp.7 ff.); cf. e.g. Mart. 8.21.10 'Ausonium...ducem', 9.7(8).6 'Ausonius...pater'. The adjective has a grand and epic ring (cf. Verg. A. 3.378, 9.639, Hor. Carm. 4.4.56), no doubt generally flattering to the emperor, but possibly especially so here: rhinoceroses were not normally seen in Italy and it was to the emperor's eternal credit and glory that one appears in an Italian arena on this occasion.

At Mart. 8.53(55).5 'in Ausonia...harena', a truly magnificent Libyan lion is killed.

Mart. 14.52 aside, there is extant no other literary evidence of Domitian's having shown a rhinoceros at the spectacles. A series of undated coins survives, however, on which two-horned rhinoceroses are depicted (see Harold Mattingly and Edward A. Sydenham, The Roman Imperial Coinage vol. II, London 1962, p.208, nos 434-5; cf. plate 7.108). These were probably to mark such occasions, and we know from Suet. Dom. 4.1 to what lengths Domitian went to produce good shows: his procuring of rhinoceroses is quite feasible.

The coins show the rhinoceros apparently with head lowered to toss its

victim, a posture admittedly suited to the shape of coins, but perhaps significant nonetheless if the coins celebrate a venatio.

2 cui pila taurus erat: Cf. Mart. Sp. 9.4 quoted above, 19.2 'sustulerat raptas taurus in astra pilas', 22.6 'iactat ut inpositas taurus in astra pilas'. M. is exaggerating for effect: instead of a red rag, the Romans baited bulls with straw figures. (For pila of a stuffed human effigy, see Paul. ex Festus 239M.) These insubstantial figures became badly gored (hence the joke at Mart. 2.43.5-6 'at me, quae passa est furias et cornua tauri, / noluerit dici quam (sc. togam) pila prima suam'), as would a bull which, despite its size and strength, was like a straw dummy to the much larger and stronger rhinoceros, whose horn is here described. (The parallel between this line and Mart. Sp. 9.4 is not exact in that there the rhinoceros itself is meant; cf. Coleman loc. cit. p.6).

14.53 A horned flask

Once a bullock wore me on his forehead: you will consider me real rhinoceros.

For M's hendecasyllables, see Intro. 'Metre'.

le. gutus corneus: The word gutus (guttus) is rare, surviving nowhere else in Martial. See Colton's discussion, p.257. It is used twice by Juvenal of an oil flask at the baths: Juv. 3.263 'et pleno componit lintea guto' and 11.158; see generally R.E. VII.1953.15 ff. s.v. guttus [Zahn].

Corneus appears also at Mart.14.61.le. That horn was not special or

expensive is made clear by the epigram: this flask is cheap, albeit made to look like the luxury rhinoceros-horn equivalent of Mart. 14.52.

On the difficulties in the sequence of epigrams at this point, see Intro. 'Order', Mart. 14.52. le. n. above.

1 Iuencus: For the rhinoceros as bos, see Mart. 14.52.1-2 n. A contrast is perhaps intended here between the horns of the two types of 'bull'.

2 verum rhinocerota me putabis: i.e. so good is this fake as to be undetectable. ῥινόκερος or 'nose-horn' is in fact a misnomer (Coleman, p.5, cited in the Intro., 'Date' n.4): the rhinoceros' horn is actually a growth of hair.

Putabis is B^a's reading, favoured by Shackleton Bailey: so clever is this fake horn that its recipient will regard it as real rhinoceros (and perhaps pass it off as such), even though he knows that it is not (for puto meaning 'regard', 'consider' etc., see OLD s.v. puto §5). Somewhat similar is the way in which gifts at Mart. 14.62 claim parity with their rich counterparts.

Other editors favour putabas (C^a; cf. putabat T). The gift might then be taken as a joker. Having drawn it, the recipient initially thinks that he has acquired something valuable, until being disillusioned by the triumphant accompanying note. Cf. the objects of unknown value auctioned or distributed by Augustus at the Saturnalia and other times (Suet. Aug. 75). This interpretation is made difficult by the lemma, however, which states what the gift is made of.

14.54 A little rattle

If any little home-born slave should hang onto your neck and wail, let him shake this chattering rattle in his tender hand.

le. crepitaculum TB^A: crepitacillum C^A. Both forms are elsewhere attested, although crepitacillum survives in classical Latin otherwise only at Lucr. 5.229 'nec crepitacillis opus est' (i.e. for the young of animals, who need less pampering than human young). In later Latin, note Tert. adv. Marc. 3.13.2. Here it seems sensible to follow TB^A.

Rattles appear as toys also at Quint. Inst. 9.4.66 'ac sonum reddant paene puerilium crepitaculorum', Mart. Cap. 1.7, 9.927. Rattles would be used otherwise in religious ceremony (see below) or for practical purposes, like scaring birds from crops. Illustrations and general information can be found in D-S I(2), p.1561 col. 1 s.vv. crepitaculum, crepitacillum [E.Ferniquel]. Note figs 2036 and 2064. See too R.E. IIIA.1774.40 ff. s.v. Spielzeug [Hug], IV.1705.51 ff. s.v. crepitaculum [Mau].

This rattle would probably not have been valuable: one would not give a costly item to a (slave's) child to play with. (Such a valuation introduces difficulties in the sequence of epigrams, however: see Intro. 'Order'.) Concerning Saturnalia gifts for children, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and at Mart. 14.19.2 above.

1: Florator survives here only. For the adjectival use of words in -tor, see Neue Wagener II p.35 f. The form vernula is Augustan (OLD s.v. vernula). A master or mistress might well have dandled the offspring of a slave: cf. Tib. 1.5.25-6 'consuescit amantis/ garrulus in dominae

ludere verna sinu'. For the preferential treatment given home-grown slaves, see Mart. 14.1.3-4 n. above.

2 garrula sistra: Garrula is used also at Mart. 14.169.1, of rings on a hoop. The word might otherwise be used e.g. of birdsong (cf. Mart. 14.75.2 and see discussion ad loc.), and of the music of pipe and lyre (OLD s.v. garrulus §2b).

Sistrum of a child's rattle survives here only, being normally reserved for the rattles used to worship Isis (examples of which abound in museums across Britain). It is possible that this child's rattle is a replica of an Isis-rattle. Crepitaculum is used of an Isis-rattle at Apul. Met. 11.4.

Pictures of sistra from Pompeii can be found in Michael Grant, The Art and Life of Pompeii and Herculaneum, Milan 1979, p.76, and Pompeii A.D. 79, plates 196-7.

14.55 A whip

You will make no progress with this whip, even if you scourge continuously, if your horse runs for the purple faction.

le. flagellum: Like the crepitaculum of Mart. 14.54, this gift may have been intended for a child - whips were used e.g. for spinning tops: Pers. 3.51; cf. Verg. 7.378 ff. and see R.E. IIIA.1777.3 ff. s.v. Spielzeug [Hug]. (On children's gifts, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and at Mart. 14.19.2 above.)

That whips might have been common Saturnalia presents is suggested at Petr. 56.9 '"porri et persica": flagellum et cultrum accepit' (for explanation of the puns here, see Ullman p.355).

The word flagellum covers a wide variety of whips: see D-S II(2) p.1152 col. 2 ff. s.v. flagellum [G.Fougères]. OLD s.v. flagellum 81b cites instances of horse-whips.

This poem gives no indication of cost, which does not facilitate establishing the correct sequence of epigrams from Mart. 14.51-6: see Intro. 'Order'.

1 proficies nihil hoc...flagello: On the furious way in which drivers applied their whips, see Harris p. 172.

In his efforts to bring more excitement and competition to the races, Domitian added two new factions, the Purples and the Golds (Suet. Dom. 7.1) to those already in existence, the Blues, Greens, Reds and Whites (more on circus factions at Mart. 14.131 below). Yet these new factions never caught the race-goers' fancy. One can take the epigram to mean that however one whips a purple horse, it will still lose because it represents a third rate faction; cf. Kay's interpretation at Mart. 11.33 of Mart. 6.46 'vapulat adsidue veneti quadriga flagello/ nec currit: magnam rem, Catiane, facit', that 'magnam rem...facit' means 'flogging a non-starter' (my rendition).

Others, e.g. Harris (p.217), have said that, although the founder of two new factions, Domitian supported the Greens, as had Caligula and Nero before him (Suet. Calig. 55.2, Nero 22.1). Taken as evidence for this is Mart. 11.33:

saepius ad palmam post fata Neronis
pervenit et victor praemia plura refert.
i nunc, livor edax, dic te cessisse Neroni:
vicit nimirum non Nero, sed prasinus.

Comparing Mart. 6.46, they interpret as follows, that a sensible

charioteer from another faction would ensure that he lost (Mart. 6.46.2 'magnam rem...facit') for fear of suffering imperial displeasure, while at the same time making a great show of urging his horses on so as not to appear to have been rigging the race - hence 'caedas licet usque' (for usque meaning 'continuously', see Mart. 14.130.1 n. below).

Kay, following Holzinger, shows convincingly that 'Nero' at Mart. 11.33 refers to Nero himself, noting that when 'Nero' is used of Domitian, it is qualified (e.g. Juv. 4.38 'calvo...Neroni'). He remarks too that it is unlikely, for chronological reasons, that Mart. 11.33 refers to Domitian. Domitian died three months before Book 11's publication. Those three months would have been insufficient time to justify a claim that the Greens had been winning on merit alone during the emperor's life by saying that they won more often after his death. The thirty years since Nero's death could amply justify such a claim, however. He notes further that M. himself was unlikely to have risked Imperial wrath by alleging that races were rigged in Domitian's favour, although we know that at least some of Nero's victories resulted from a prudent unwillingness on his rivals' part to displease him; e.g. the judges at Olympia awarded Nero the prize in the ten-horse chariot race, although he fell and failed to complete the course (Suet. Nero 24.2).

Kay argues therefore that at 11.33 and 6.46, M. is in fact ridiculing the Blues, being a Green supporter himself.

On balance, the first of the two explanations given here of Mart. 14.55 appears most likely, i.e. that however one whips a purple horse, it will still lose because it represents a third-rate faction.

That cheating on the race track nonetheless took place, there can be no doubt, however, and Kay's arguments regarding Mart. 11.33 and 6.46

are not to say that it did not happen in Domitian's time, whether or not political intimidation had a part to play. That charioteers were corrupted by punters is, however, unlikely: while a great deal of money was wagered on races (Carcopino pp. 242-3), there were no organised betting agencies (Harris p.225), and money would change hands on the stands. Given the lack of machinery, organised jiggery pokery would have been difficult on any large scale (Harris *ibid.*).

2 purpureo de grege: For this use of de, denoting the class or group to which someone or thing belongs, see OLD s.v. de §11, ThLL V(2).58.28 f. s.v. de [Gudeman].

14.56-60: These epigrams deal with cosmetics or toiletries.

14.56 Tooth powder

What have you to do with me? Let a young girl take me up: I'm not accustomed to polish purchased teeth.

For M's hendecasyllables, see Intro. 'Metre'.

1e. dentifricium: On the methods of dental care at Rome, see at Mart. 14.22 dentiscalpium above. The Elder Pliny gives exotic and unappealing recipes for dentifrice involving e.g. the ash from a wolf's head or pigs' trotters (Nat. 28.178 f.). Dentifrice continued to be used in modern times: Nevil Williams, Powder and Paint, London 1957, pp.13, 90.

No indication is given of the cost of dentifricium. It seems likely that it was cheap, and it would appear that this epigram's partner has fallen away; cf. Intro. 'Order' above.

1 quid mecum est tibi? me puellaumat: The puella is a young girl, i.e. one in the prime of her sexual allure, a beloved or a sweetheart (for such women, see L-S s.v. puella §1B1, OLD s.v. puella §3), and a girl who therefore still preserves her natural teeth (the contrast between a puella and a vetula amica is made at Mart. 8.79). False or decayed teeth generally characterised a worn-out tart: cf. e.g. Prop. 4.5.68, Hor. Carm. 4.13.10 f., A.P. 11.310 (amongst other things, of buying false teeth); see N-H at Hor. Carm. 2.8.3. At Priap. 12.8-9, an ancient hag prays for more teeth.

Although Roman dental care was not advanced, prevention of decay, if possible, was still better than second-rate remedies like false teeth. But having lost one's natural teeth, there was little point in scrubbing dentures, which did not go bad.

Sumo is usual of taking medicinal or medical preparations of one sort or another (OLD s.v. sumo §3a).

emptos...dentes: Cf. Mart. 12.23 'dentibus atque comis - nec te pudet - uteris emptis./ quid facies oculo, Laelia? non emitur.', 1.72.4 'emptis ossibus' (= dentibus) with Citroni ad loc., 5.43., 9.37.3. Cf. too Ovid Ars 3.165-6 of a bald woman who wears a wig: 'femina procedit densissima crinibus emptis/ proque suis alios efficit aere suos'.

False teeth were made of ivory (Mart. 1.72.4), pine or boxwood: Mart. 2.41.6-7 'et tres sunt tibi, Maximina, dentes,/ sed plane piceique buxeique'. For the skill of the Greeks, Phoenicians, and later the Etruscans and Romans in making and fitting false teeth, see J.Woodforde, The Strange Story of False Teeth, London 1968, pp.8-13 and D.Strong, The

Early Etruscans, London 1968, p. 101. Strong has illustrations on p. 103, Woodforde on pp. 10-11.

Polire is used of ivory at Catul. 64.47-8 'pulvinar...Indo...dente politum'. A direct parallel of the polishing effect of dentifricium is elusive, but note Catul. 39.18 ff.:

quod quisque minxit, hoc sibi solet mane
dentem atque russam defricare gingivam,
ut, quo iste vester expolitor dens est,
hoc te amplius bibisse praedicet loti.

14.57 Ben-nut oil

This, which neither Virgil nor Homer mentions in poetry, is made of ointment and ben-nut.

le. myrobalanum: Cf. $\mu\upsilon\rho o\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda a\nu o\varsigma$ e.g. at Diosc. 2.148. The word is unmetrical and cannot therefore be included in verse, even by the best poets. (Not that it is likely that they would have wanted to include it anyway.) Reference is possible only by periphrasis, a vehicle for cleverness exploited here; cf. Ovid's versification at Med. 51 ff. M. manages by using unguentum for myron (see below), and by admitting in balano a polysyllabic pentameter ending (see Intro. 'Metre' above). His periphrasis means that this epigram falls into that class of riddling couplets whose answer the lemma provides (see Mart. 14.2.3 n. above).

2 hoc ex unguento constat et ex balano: In ecclesiastical Latin, unguentum is commonly used for myron/ myrum. $\acute{\mu}\upsilon\rho o\nu$ is any sweet oil or perfume distilled from a plant-source, being here distilled from the

balanus or behen/ ben nut. Pliny describes the substance at Nat. 12.100: 'myrobalanum Trogodytis et Thebaidi et Arabiae qua Iudaeum ab Aegypto disternat commune est, nascens unguento, ut ipso nomine apparet, quo item indicatur et glandem esse' (another, general reference at Nat. 12.121). While produced in Egypt, it does not appear in surviving Egyptian cosmetics recipes (Forbes III p.6).

The oil was used for anointing hair: Hor. Carm. 3.29.4 'pressa tuis balanus capillis'. Expense can be inferred from other contexts where hair-oil is mentioned, e.g. Catul. 10.11, Hor. Carm. 4.12.14-16. Note additionally Pliny Nat. 12.103 'myrobalano pretium in libras X II', Scrib. Largus 129.

14.58 Aphronitrum

You are a yokel? You do not know what I am called in Greek: I am called the foam of nitron. You are a Grecophile? Aphronitrum.

Shackleton Bailey's punctuation ('rusticus es,...Graecus es:...') differs from that generally adopted and seems to me inferior: given the paratactic structure, stronger pauses are necessary than those marked by commas, which deny the epigram the vitality it otherwise possesses.

le.: On the substance aphronitrum (ἀφρόνιτρον, ἀφρὸς νίτρον), see Green p.385: there is no doubt as to its nature. 'It was what is now known as soda-scum, that is "carbonates and nitrates of soda and potash coloured by copper and iron oxides"'. Pliny describes its nature, preparation and source (Nat. 31.113): 'proxima aetas medicorum aphronitrum tradidit in Asia colligi in speluncis mollibus destillans...dein siccari (Mayhoff: siccant codd.) sole. optimum putatur Lydium; probatio, ut sit minime

ponderosum et maxime fricabile, colore paene purpureo. hoc in pastillis adfertur'. The substance was used in cosmetic preparations (cf. Ovid Med. 73-4 'nec cerussa tibi nec nitri spuma rubentis/ desit'), or in medical treatments, e.g. for ulcers (Pliny Nat. 20.66) or swollen feet (ibid. 35.195). The sodium and carbonate content allowed use as baking or washing powder. A cosmetic use must here apply, given the surrounding epigrams.

Stat. Silv. 4.9.37 'aut panes viridantis aphronitri' suggests that cakes of aphronitrum were regular Saturnalian gifts and confirms that they were cheap (Statius' aphronitrum is coloured by copper oxide rather than the commoner iron). Further discussion and references can be found in Coleman ad loc.

The MSS unanimity in transmitting aphonitrum (cf. the variant afonitro at Pliny Nat. 20.66) prompts Lindsay's comment fort. recte in the apparatus; see Intro. 'Text' for the authority of MSS unanimity in the textual transmission of M. But given M's clear grasp of aphronitrum's Greek etymology and the relevance of the etymology to the epigram, he is unlikely to have written aphonitrum. Rather, it is possible that APHO- is a corruption of AFRO- (cf. the reading of M at Stat. Silv. 4.9.37).

1 rusticus es? nescis quid Graeco nomine dicar: Educated Romans were 'utra...lingua eruditus': see M. Crawford, 'Greek Intellectuals and the Roman Aristocracy in the First Century B.C.', in Imperialism in the Ancient World, edd. P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker, Cambridge 1978, pp.193-207. (Languages other than Latin and Greek were ignored. It is therefore unlikely that Ovid really learnt Getic and Sarmatian; see Ronald Syme, History in Ovid, Oxford 1978, pp. 16-17. Rather, he was

stressing the barbarity of Tomis in his hope for sympathy.)

Ignorance of Greek would amply justify a charge of rusticitas, linked with a lack of education at Cic. Brut. 180 'qui (sc. oratores) et plane indocti et inurbani aut rustici etiam fuerunt', although no specific mention of Greek is made there.

Concerning M's view of urbanitas and rusticitas, see Edwin S. Ramage, Urbanitas: Ancient Sophistication and Refinement, Oklahoma 1973, pp. 121 ff. Unfortunately, Ramage says nothing of M's attitude to Greek, although it is probable that he conformed to the normal Roman feelings (of which more below).

2 spuma vocor nitri: Cf. Ovid Med. 73-4 quoted above and the Greek form ἄπρὸς νίτρον.

Graecus es? aphronitrum: Lindsay's suggestion that M. wrote ἄπρονίτρον is an attractive one. While educated Romans were expected to know Greek, they could be criticised for using it: Cicero is faulted for doing so in the Greek senate at Syracuse (Ver. 2.4.147), while Tiberius apologises for employing the Greek monopolium, and retracts ἑμβλημα in a senatorial decree (Suet. Tib. 71.1). Cf. too Juv. 6.184 ff. By adopting Lindsay's suggestion, one can take the epigram as a sneer against both the uncultivated bumpkin and the pretentious show-off. (Graecus appears not to survive elsewhere of a Greek scholar: see OLD s.v. §2a.)

For the general ambivalence of Romans to the Greeks and a discussion of its roots, see Nicholas Petrochilos, Roman Attitudes to the Greeks, Athens 1974, esp. pp. 141-196; see too J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Romans and Aliens, London 1979, pp. 30 ff. Elizabeth Rawson gives a useful general

survey of the beginnings and early development of Romano-Greek association (Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic, London 1985, ch. 1).

On polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Intro. 'Metre' above. Pentameters ending in polysyllabic Greek words occur also at Mart. 14.126, 201, 203 (q.v. ad loc.) and 214.

14.59 Balsam oil

Balsams attract me; these are the unguents of men. You, young wives, exude the delicate fragrances of Cosmos.

le. opobalsama: opobalsamum B^a (om. T). ὀποβάλαμον is the resinous juice (ὀπός) of the balsam shrub (commiphora opobalsamum), but not of any other plant. The singular form transmitted by B^a is therefore quite possibly correct. (Balsama (line 1) is a poetic plural; cf. Mart. 11.8.1 opobalsama. For differences in number between lemma and epigram, see Mart. 14.21. le. n. above.)

Opobalsamum was considered by Pliny the choicest of all perfumes (Nat. 12.111), featuring in his list of the most expensive commodities (Nat. 37.204). The 'regale unguentum' described at Pliny Nat. 13.18 contains opobalsam, while Pompey considered it suitable for display in his triumph (Pliny Nat. 12.111). It was thought to come from the area of Judaea alone (Nat. 12.111, Theophr. Hist. Plant. 9.6), although Kay demonstrates that this was not so (in his useful note at Mart. 11.8.1). The extraction process is described at Pliny Nat. 12.115-6 '(sc. ramus) inciditur vitro...sucus e plaga manat quem opobalsamum vocant'; cf. Stat. Sily. 3.2.140-1 'ubi germine primum/ candida felices sudent opobalsama virgae'.

For general discussion, see J. Innes Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, Oxford 1969, pp. 101 ff. and H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, Plants of the Bible, Massachusetts 1952, pp. 84 ff.

1 balsama me capiunt: i.e. 'I like opobalsam' (sc. because I am a man and it is a male perfume, the oils of Cosmos being for girls). For this meaning of capiō, see OLD s.v. capiō §17a and b.

Stronger punctuation after capiunt than a comma is possibly desirable.

haec sunt unguenta virorum: This view was not universally held, male use of perfumes being considered effeminate by some. See Courtney at Juv. 2.41-2 'hirsuto spirant opobalsama collo/ quae tibi?'

2 delicias Cosmi: Cosmos was a famous contemporary dealer in perfumes and essences: cf. Mart. 1.87.2, 3.55.1, 82.26, 9.26.2, 11.8.9, 15.6, 12.55.7, 65.4 and see 14.110.1 n. below. Courtney's assumption at Juv. 8.86 that his name derived from his profession is possibly correct, although Kay observes at Mart. 11.8.9 that other Cosmi are known. Kay cites PIR² C 1533 (Prosopographia Imperii Romani,² edd. E. Groag and A. Stein, Berlin and Leipzig 1936); cf. [Petr.] fr. 18. At Mart. 12.55.7, Bowie suggests that there were several generations of Cosmi in the trade. This is quite likely: so too, generations of gourmets might have been called Apicius. (While recipes of the original Apicius (A.D. 14-37) were written down, the cookery book which survives bearing the name of Caelius Apicius is probably a fourth century compilation: see M. C. Howatson ed., The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature,² Oxford 1989, s.vv. 'Apicius, Marcus Gavius'.)

For further information concerning Cosmos, see Lilja pp.30-31. For ancient perfume, see generally R.E. IA.1851.48 ff. s.v. Salben [Hug]. That Cosmos' perfumes were inappropriate to men is emphasised by delicias.

nurus: The revised Loeb rightly corrects its original 'matrons', which does not convey quite the right sense, to 'young wives'. The nurus was specifically a young married woman (OLD s.v. nurus §2). There is a pointed contrast between nurus and virorum (men/ husbands: see OLD s.v. vir §§1a, 2).

14.60 Beanmeal

This will be a welcome gift, not useless to a stretch-marked stomach if you seek the baths of Stephanus in the clear light of day.

le.: Lomentum was a preparation of bean-meal: Pliny Nat. 18.117 'lomentum appellatur farina ex ea (sc. faba)'; cf. Pall. Oct. 14.9 'ex faba lomentum factum'. Its use for treating stretch marks is referred to again at Mart. 3.42.1 'lomento rugas uteri...condere temptas'. It was also employed in facepacks: Forbes III p.30; cf. Ovid Med. 69-70 'nec tu pallentes dubita torrere lupinos/ et simul inflantes corpora frige fabas' and see Green p.385. In addition, beans and bean-meal were used to treat boils and vitiligo (Pliny Nat. 22.140, Celsus 5.28.19d) and also scars (Scrib. Largus 179 'oportet...extra super ventrem imponere farinam hordeaciam'). At Mart. 6.93.10, a bean-based preparation is used in attempting to hide an unpleasant body odour.

1: Gratum appears of gifts elsewhere e.g. at Ter. Eun. 275. This gift is welcome given its usefulness, but would not have been costly. Regarding Saturnalian gifts for women, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D.

scisso nec inutile ventri: Ovid refers to the detrimental effects of child-bearing on beauty at Ars 3.81-2: 'adde, quod et partus faciunt breviora iuventae/ tempora: continua messe senescit ager'. Women with stretch-marked stomachs are advised to admit their lovers from behind during intercourse: Ars 3.785-6 'tu quoque, cui rugis uterum Lucina notavit, / ut celer aversis utere Parthus equis'. Ovid Am. 1.5.21 'planus sub pectore venter' perhaps indicates that Corinna has not yet carried a child to term (although Am. 2.13(14) and 14(15) describe her as having had an abortion).

Scindo is used of wrinkled cheeks at Prop. 2.18b.6 'et faceret scissas languida ruga genas' (cf. the rugae at Mart. 3.42.1 and Ovid Ars 3.785 quoted above).

2 clara...luce: i.e. when physical defects are easily visible. Defects were mocked at the baths: therefore Menophilus wears a fibula when exercising to hide his circumcision (Mart. 7.82). The value of darkness in hiding physical flaws was fully appreciated (cf. Ovid Ars 3.753-4), and women with defects would visit the baths late and perhaps not at all: observe the unwillingness of the women afraid to be seen naked by their admirers at Mart. 3.51 and 72 (note esp. line 4 'aut sulcos uteri prodere nuda times'). On mixed bathing at Rome, see Balsdon Women p.268 f.

Stephani balnea: Kay observes at Mart. 11.52.4 'scis quam sint Stephani balnea iuncta mihi' that M. lived on a street leading from the Temple of Flora to the Capitolium Vetus on the Quirinal (Mart. 5.22.3, 6.27.1, 10.58.9, 11.1.9) and that these baths must therefore have been in the vicinity.

Stephanus would have been the baths' builder or owner: balnea were smaller than municipal thermae and were often privately built or owned. According to Pliny (Nat. 36.121), there was a great number of them in Rome. For further details and references, see Kay loc. cit.

14.61 A horn lantern

As a leader of the way, I am carried, a lantern golden with enclosed flame, and safe is the small lamp within my bosom.

le. lanterna cornea: This is a rich man's gift in contrast to the cheap equivalent of the following epigram. The epigram makes plain that the lantern, of translucent horn ('clusis...aurea flammis'), shields the flame of an oil lamp (lucerna). Horn lanterns appear elsewhere at Pliny Nat. 11.49, Plaut. Amph. 341 'quo ambulas tu qui Vulcanum in cornu conclusum geris?', Priap. 32.14 'lanternae videor fricare cornu'. See generally R.E. XII.693.22 ff. s.v. lanterna [Hug]. Lanterns were also made of canvas (R.E. ibid. 693.30), possibly linen (Plaut. Bacch. 446) and animal bladders: see Mart. 14.62 below. Glass lanterns (Isid. 20.10.7) were not used generally before the 7th century.

1 dux...viae...feror: Until the mid-5th century, when municipal provision was made for tarred torches to light the streets of Antioch, street-lighting would have been provided principally by the lamps of

shop-owners trying to attract custom and by the illumination of temples and street-corner shrines (Bailey p.11). This is not to say that towns were poorly lit: the many lamps discovered in the streets of Pompeii give adequate evidence to the contrary, at least as far as the town-centre is concerned (Bailey *ibid*). But in the outskirts, darkness would have prevailed, and navigation without a lamp was difficult; cf. Petr. 79.1-6. The possibility of a lamp's blowing out was therefore greatly to be guarded against, especially given the difficulties of rekindling a flame, and lanterns provided an obvious solution.

Further references to portable lighting are given by Mayor at Juv. 3.285 and 287: lines 283 ff. contrast the poor man's guttering candle with the bronze lamp of the rich. For the special slaves employed by the wealthy to light the way, cf. Mart. 8.75.6-7, Suet. Aug. 29 'servus praelucens'; see Paoli p.81 and Mayor at Juv. 3.285.

1 Aurea: Thinly sliced horn would glow golden yellow from the light of a flame behind it.

2 gremio parva lucerna meo: The word-order is deliberate, reflecting the function of the lantern in enclosing the lamp.

Gremium usually designates a lap or bosom, often in the context of child-care (OLD s.v. gremium §1). Its use here is telling, reinforcing tuta. For such uses translate, see ThLL VI(2). 2323.3 ff. s.v. gremium [Häfner].

Parva possibly emphasises the lamp's need for protection, but since the lamp must have been small anyway to fit inside a lantern, it is most probably no more than an accurate description of size.

14.62 A bladder lamp

If I am not horn, am I any the dimmer? Or does anyone who approaches think me a bladder?

le.: The lanterna de vesica is a poor man's equivalent of the horn lantern, as the epigram makes clear, yet a lantern which does the job just as well as its luxury rival (see Mart. 14.104.2 n. For references by P epigrams to the gifts of their R counterparts and vice versa, see at Mart. 14.12.). Concerning lanterns in general, see Mart. 14.61.le., 1 nn.; for bladder lanterns, see Forbes VI pp.164 ff., D-S III(2) p.925 n.1 s.v. lanterna [J.Toutain], Rediscovering Pompeii plate 80 and note.

The vesica is an animal's urinary bladder, or anything made of it, e.g. a football (cf. perhaps Mart. 14.47 above), purse, hairnet - or lantern. For its various uses, see OLD s.v. vesica §2.

1 Numquid sum fuscior invites a negative answer and helps set the poem's indignant and somewhat sarcastic tone.

Fuscus meaning 'dark' with reference to lighting as opposed to colour survives in extant literature only in this epigram and at Mart. 3.30.3 (OLD s.v. fuscus §2. ThLL VI(I).1653.76 s.v. fuscus [Vollmer] apparently takes fuscus incorrectly here to refer to colour.).

Aut sustains the note of indignation. Me and other monosyllabic hexameter endings receive comment above: Intro. 'Metre'.

14.63 Pipes

The drunken flute girl bursts our ears with well-soused cheeks. Often she plays two at the same time, often a single pipe.

le.: Tibiae is offered by C^A. Tibia, T, is less satisfactory given 'saepe duas pariter' (line 2) but is not impossible: numerical discrepancies between lemma and epigram occur elsewhere (see at Mart. 14.21.1e. above). B^A's tibicina is incorrect, deriving from line 1: flutes are given, not a flautist.

Concerning the tibia, see OCD² s.v. 'music', p.710, J.E.Scott, 'Roman Music', in The New Oxford History of Music I, Oxford 1957, D-S V p.300 col. 1 ff. s.v. tibia [Theodore Reinach] (with illustrations), R.E. VIA.808.50 ff. s.v. tibia [Walther Vetter], Fordyce at Catul. 64.264. The instrument was like an oboe or clarinet and was related to the Greek αὐλός (see Griffin p.14, citing G.Wille, Musica Romana, Amsterdam 1967). Ullman, reading with H, notes (p.347) that canalem (Petr. 56.9) can refer to a musical pipe (cf. Calp. Ecl. 4.76-7 'canales/ exprime, qui dignas cecinerunt consule silvas'). Although H's testimony has been disputed and explanations of canalem/ -is differ (see W.Heraeus, Die Sprache des Petronius und der Glossen, Leipzig 1899, p.13), this is not to say, however, that musical pipes cannot have been common Saturnalian presents.

Tibiae are valuable when compared with reed fistulae. To restore the RP sequence, poems 63 [S] and 64 [S] must be transposed (with Birt. To justify transposition, one could also argue that a scribe is more likely to omit two poems together rather than two separated by a third. Birt's reordering places C^A's two omissions, 63 [S] and 65 together.)

1 ebria nos madidis rumpit tibicina buccis: Music was usual at symposia: N-H II, p.168, referring to J.Griffin, JRS 66(1976), pp.87 ff. The unusualness of the symposium described by Plato is established when the

flute-girls are dismissed (Plato Symp. 176e4 ff.). Ebria and 'madidis...buccis' are therefore unsurprising. Drunkenness was, of course, a feature of Saturnalian celebrations: see at Mart. 14.1.9 'madidis...diebus'.

Bucca often appears of cheeks swollen through playing a wind instrument (OLD s.v. bucca §1b).

nos rumpit: Cf. Copa 27 'cantu crebro rumpunt arbusta cicadae'.

2 saepe duas pariter, saepe monaulon habet: Ἀυλόν and tibiae were generally played in pairs. Usually, but not always, the pipes were held together by a band (φορβεία) which passed round the cheeks and over the head of the player, allowing him to blow strongly. The two pipes were not always the same length, but there is uncertainty as to which pipe, left or right, was the longer and lower in tone, and to the use of the pipes, whether for interludes or to accompany singers.

monaulon habet: Like the fistula of Mart. 14.64, the monaulos was invented by Pan: 'fistulam et monaulum Pan (invenit)' (Pliny Nat. 7.204). The word monaulos survives in these places alone in Latin (ThLL VIII.1405.26 ff. s.v. monaulus et -os [Lumpel]), and the corrupted readings of T and C^a are therefore not surprising.

14.64 A Pan pipe

Why do you mock me, put together with wax and a reed? Such was the Pan pipe that was first made.

le. fistula: The σύριγξ was made from reed or hemlock stalks of

different lengths, between seven and twenty-one in number, joined together by beeswax (see below, D-S IV(2) p. 1596 col. 1 ff. s.v. syrinx [Theodor Reinach], R.E. IVA.1779.12 ff. s.v. syrinx [Abert]). It was traditionally the invention of Pan (hence Pan-pipes); cf. Verg. E. 2.32 'Pan primum calamos cera coniungere pluris/ instituit', Longus 2.34 '(sc. ὁ Πάν) τοὺς καλάμους κηρῷ συνδήσας ἀνίσους, καθ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἀνίσος αὐτοῖς, Ovid Met. 1.689 ff. This epigram's defensive stance makes it clear that its pipe was not an expensive item, certainly not when compared with the tibiae of Mart. 14.63. (Contrast the more elaborate metal-ringed instrument at Hor. Ars 202 and see Brink p.263 f; cf. Cic. de Or. 3.225 'Gracchus...quem servum sibi ille habuit ad manum, cum eburneola solitus est habere fistula qui staret ante occulte post ipsum, cum contionaretur'.)

1 quid me compactam ceris et harundine rides?: Cf. Tib. 2.5.31 'fistula cui semper decrescit harundinis ordo:/ nam calamus cera iungitur usque minor', Verg. E. 2.36 'est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis/ fistula', 2.32 quoted above, Longus 2.34 also quoted above.

Regarding M's possible preference for -np- as opposed to -mp- in words like compactus, see Lindsay Orth. Mart. pp. 42-3.

Ceris is a poetic plural to avoid unmetrical elision with et.

2: The proto-type of the Pan pipe was worthy of respect. While P when compared with tibiae, rustic Pan pipes were not without value: at [Theoc.] Id. 8.17-19, such a pipe is considered a suitable prize for a

singing contest. Lines 21-24 describe the making of this pipe, introducing an interesting note of realism to the pastoral world:

ἦ μάν τοι κῆγ' ὅ σ' ὅριγγ' ἔχω ἐννεάφωνον,
 λευκὸν καρὸν ἔχουσιν ἴσον κάτω ἴσον ἄνωθεν.
 πρῶαν νιν συνέπαξ' ἔτι καὶ τὸν δάκτυλον ἄλγῳ
 τοῦτον, ἔπει κάλαμος γε διαχισθεὶς διέτμαξεν.

14.65 Woollen slippers

If perhaps your slave is not at hand and you want to put on your slippers, your foot itself will act as its own slave.

le. soleae lanatae: Usually sandals (OLD s.v. solea 51a), soleae must here be slippers, presumably with a woollen lining. They would normally have been worn inside only: to appear out of doors wearing soleae occasioned scandal: CIL I.582.4; cf. perhaps Cic. Ver. 5.86. Wearing them to dinner parties was, however, acceptable: Blümmner Priv. p.222.

Soleae seem to have been common presents. Petr. 56.9 'canale et pedale' (reading with Buecheler and Hadrianides) probably refers to a hare (something for a dog) and the solea (something for the foot, i.e. a slipper). Soleae number amongst the presents sent to a soldier at Vindolanda:

[miselram tibi paria udōnum
 t. ab Sattua solearum]
 duo et subligariorum]
 duo solearum paria dufo

(Tablet 38.1-4 in A.K.Bowman and J.D.Thomas, Vindolanda: the Latin Writing Tablets, London 1983). The language of this letter suggests that it was written to one of the ranks, and it could be that these soleae were utilitarian rather than luxury objects. Those referred to here by M. were probably comparatively costly, however, since the epigram is R

by position and the slippers are evidently extremely comfortable and easy to slip on.

General information concerning soleae can be found in Blümner, Priv. pp. 222-3. See also D-S IV(2) p.1387 col. 1 ff. s.v. solea [Victor Capot], R.E. IIA.754.47 ff. s.v. Schuh [Hug] and IA.2257.10 ff. s.v. sandalia [Hug]. For clothing as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.124-158 n. below.

1 defuerit: Translating 'is not at hand' (with the Loeb) is a trifle misleading: it must be understood that desum here indicates neglect of duty rather than mere absence (presence can be reflected by desum in litotes, but OLD s.v. desum §1b cites no instances of the word denoting absence).

2 pro puero pes erit ipse sibi: Deest C^a. Proserit, B^a, is nonsense. Salmasius' pro se erit yields an intolerable repetition of pro and the dubious elision of a long vowel (see Birt ap. Friedländer I p.33). T's pes erit makes perfect sense. The aid of slaves was commonly employed when putting on one's slippers; cf. the dutiful and servile lover at Ovid Ars 2.211-2 'nec dubita tereti scamnum producere lecto, / et tenero soleam deme vel adde pedi'. One can put these slippers on, however, without the help of servile (or any) hands.

Concerning equal pentameter halves, see Intro. 'Metre'.

14.66 A brassière

You could have bound your chest with the hide of a bull: for this hide doesn't hold your breasts.

le. mamillare: This word survives here and at CGL II.373.16 only: see ThLL VIII.246.29 ff. s.v. mamillaris [Vittinghoff]. On the Roman brassière, see too at Mart. 14.134 fascia pectoralis. Other words for the garment are strophium (cf. Catul. 64.65) and taenia (Apul. Met. 10.21). Concerning Saturnalian gifts for women, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' Section D. On clothing as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.124-158 n. below. In comparison with the soleae lanatae of Mart. 14.65 and by position, this gift is cheap.

1 taurino poteras pectus constringere tergo: Cf. Verg. A. 1.365 ff.:

devenere locus ubi nunc ingentia cernes
moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem,
mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.

With deliberate incongruity, M. applies to the addressee's huge breasts a scale of measurement associated with an area of land. Roman men generally favoured small-breasted women; see in detail at Mart. 14.134.1 below; cf. Mart. 14.149.1. The epigram invites mockery of the addressee whose breasts are too large to be restrained in the normal way.

2 pellis...ista: Pellis is not normally used of a brassière, which would have been made of softer material. It is used here to continue the joke about the bull's hide and Carthage, and to counter the soft shoes in Mart. 14.65 (not leather but wool; pellis is used of shoes e.g. at Ovid Ars 1.516).

manmas: This word is frequently used of the large breasts of nursing mothers; cf. e.g. Plaut. Men. 20, Truc. 448, Cic. Div. 2.85, Lucr.

5.885. Its connotations of size might have influenced M's choice of word here; cf. Lucr. 4.1168 'at tumida et mammosa Ceres est ipsa ab Iaccho'.

14.67 A peacock feather fly swatter

This, which stops disgusting flies from licking your lunch, was the proud tail of a distinguished bird.

le. muscarium pavoninum: Pavoninus survives thus used here only: ThLL X(1).838.33 s.v. pavoninus [Sinclair]. At Mart. 14.85, it means 'coloured like a peacock's tail'.

Muscarium recurs of an ox-tail swatter at Mart. 14.68 (= 71 [SI]); cf. CGL VI.720 muscarium μυιοσόβιον, II.373.52, 374.6. This ox-tail swatter is the cheap equivalent of the peacock swatter here, and the two epigrams clearly belong together. Thus rearrangement of the MS order is necessary. The similar lemmata of Mart. 14.67 and 68 no doubt caused some copyist initially to omit 68 and then, on realising his mistake, to insert it later.

Petr. 56.9 'passeres et muscarium' perhaps indicates that fly swatters were standard apophoreta. Given the difficulty of food storage in the Mediterranean climate, flies must have been a problem, and swatters made a useful present. (This epigram suggests that the danger of flies to health was well appreciated.) Swatting flies is referred to at Mart. 3.82.12 'fugatque muscas myrtea puer virga'; cf. Cic. de Or. 2.247 'puer, abige muscas'. Fly swatters appear in temple inventories: flies would have been attracted by sacrifices. See Greek Insects p.151, q.v. also for references to Greek and Persian swatters. Killing flies with a stylus amused the youthful Domitian (Suet. Dom. 3.1).

Muscarium also survives of a cupboard to protect food from flies: CIL

IV.2464.2-3 'tabulas positas in muscario', and of a fan: CGL II.587.48 'muscarium flabellum', V.628.72 'flavellum muscarium'.

Regarding the muscarium in general, see D-S III(2) p.2070 col. 2 s.v. muscarium [E. Sagliol].

1 lambere: The fly dissolves food with saliva before sucking it up through the pseudo-trachaea of the proboscis and into the gut. Without magnification, the proboscis might be mistaken for a tongue (my thanks to Dr Diane Kermack).

turpes...muscas: Turpis is also used of frogs (Hor. Epod. 5.19) and pigs (Pliny Nat. 18.364). It is a strong word.

tua prandia: The Roman breakfast, which was eaten early and was very light (see at Mart. 14.223.1), and the cena, eaten in the coolness of the late afternoon, would have attracted fewer flies than did the midday meal.

2 alitis eximiae cauda superba fuit: Cf. Prop. 2.24.11 'pavonis caudae flabella superbae'. Superba is a transferred epithet: peacocks were notoriously vain: Ovid Med. 33-4 'laudatas homini volucris Iunonia pennas/ explicat et forma muta superbit avis'.

The bird's distinction derives from its associations with Juno (for which see at Mart. 14.85.2), and the admiration attracted by its beautiful feathers: cf. Ovid Med. 33 quoted above, Ars 1.627, Stat. Silv. 2.4.26-8, Pliny Nat. 10.43.

14.68 An ox-tail swatter

If your garment becomes soiled with yellow dust, let this light tail pick it up with a gentle flick.

le. muscarium bubulum: On the muscarium, see Mart. 14.67 le. n. While one could not use a peacock feather for beating out clothes, the cheap and sturdy ox-tail would have been ideal (albeit a clothes swatter here, the ox-tail was, of course, initially designed to repel flies from the animal's anus).

1 flavo...pulvere: The poor condition of many Roman roads meant that the traveller faced dust in summer (and mud in winter). Clothes swatters were therefore much in demand. (On the discomfort of travel, see Balsdon LL. pp.214 ff. Note too Stat. Silv. 4.3.27 ff. and Hor. Serm. 1.5.) Dust did not bother travellers alone, however: anyone venturing out of doors would have been affected to some degree.

2: colligat codd. Postgate suggests corrigat, comparing Juv. 14.67 emendat. Duff approves. But while Postgate's reading is interesting, colligat is not demonstrably wrong.

Tenui verbere has the appearance of an oxymoron. In fact, tenuis is frequently used of light physical forces (OLD s.v. tenuis §8a), although no direct parallel of M's usage here comes to mind.

While tenuis, as used here, is acceptable, levis is also used of light blows (OLD s.v. ' §5 cites B.Alex. 52.4 'iacentem levibus sauciat plagis'; see too ThLL VII(2).1205.40 ff. s.v. levis [Koster]). Given that the juxtaposition of nouns and their adjectives is relatively rare

in M., one might consider emending the pentameter to 'colligat hunc tenuis verbere cauda levi' (levis might have been influenced by vestis). This yields a pleasing chiasmus which has many parallels. Note, however, that in the previous epigram (Mart. 14.67.2), nouns and their adjectives are also juxtaposed: 'alitis eximiae cauda superba fuit'.

Levis is used of a wagging dog's tail at Gratt. 237 'aut effecta levi testatur gaudia cauda'.

Verber usually occurs in the plural, but only since more than one blow is normally administered. For the 'blows' of tails, cf. Sen. Oed. 96 'verbera et caudae movens', Hor. Serm. 2.7.49 (where cauda means 'penis').

14.69-72:

These epigrams deal with food. Guests were accustomed to take home food wrapped in their table-napkins (Petr. 60.7 with Smith), either to eat themselves or to pass on to others (Petr. 60.7). It would therefore have been strange had food not featured amongst M's apophoreta.

Concerning edible apophoreta, see Mohler pp.248 f., 253; cf. Petr. 40.4-5 'circa autem (i.e. a boar served at table) minores porcelli ex coptoplacentis facti, quasi uberibus imminerent, scrofam esse positam significabant. et hi quidem apophoretæ fuerunt'.

14.69 A pastry Priapus

If you want to be satisfied, you can eat my Priapus: for all you gnaw his very cock, you will be undefiled.

M. declares at Mart. 1.4.8 that, although his 'page is wanton' (in

accordance with the generic requirements of epigram), his life is blameless. M's apologia, discussed by Sullivan in chapter 2, leads one perhaps to expect more obscenity, especially in a Saturnalian book, than in fact there is. Ker notes (revised Loeb p.xiii) that of the 1171 epigrams in Books 1-12, only a quarter could qualify as obscene, while, if Books 13-14 are included, the proportion is still smaller. Even so, this small proportion has proved too much for some, e.g. Macaulay (George Otto Trevelyan, The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay II. London 1876, pp. 448 ff.).

Other obscene epigrams in Book 14 include 74, 201, 203 and 215.

le. Priapus siligineus: Although referring here to a full model of Priapus (pace OLD s.v. Priapus §2), the word priapus can also refer, by way of synecdoche, to phallic-shaped objects: the OLD cites Juv. 2.95 (s.v. priapus §2), where 'priapus vitreus' is used of a drinking vessel; see Courtney ad loc.

Chocolate penises can be bought as Christmas stocking-fillers today. Lacking chocolate, the Romans used pastry for such things, their pastry cooks being skilled at producing delicacies in any number of different shapes (cf. Mart. 14.221.1 below). A pastry Priapus is described at Petr. 60.4: 'iam illic repositorium cum placentis aliquot erat positum, quod medium Priapus a pistore factus tenebat, gremioque satis amplo omnis generis poma et uvas sustinebat more vulgato'. For pastry genitalia, cf. Mart. 9.2.2-3 'illa siligineis pinguescit adultera cunnis, / convivam pascit nigra farina tuum'. Green suggests that the colyphia at Juv. 2.53 were penis-shaped and that this line refers to

fellatio (Penguin transl. p.82; cf. Adams p.140).

Regarding the reordering of this epigram, see Intro. 'Order'.

1: Satur is possibly ambiguous: it can refer to repleted hunger (OLD s.v. satur §1), but perhaps also has sexual connotations; note the sexual sense of satisfacio (see Adams index s.v.). It has, in addition, connotations of excess (OLD s.v. satur §1), which are possibly apposite here.

2 ipsa...inguina: Adams discusses inguen (pp.47-8): it is the most common of those words which, without specific sexual meaning, are used as vocespropriae for a sexual part. The sexual reference of inguen here is made particularly pointed by ipsa, preparatory to the paradox that one can gnaw this penis and still remain undefiled.

A.P. 16.242 describes Priapus' impressive erection.

rodas: 'Eating' and such-like words are often used of oral sex (cf. 'drinking', implied by the 'priapus vitreus' at Juv. 2.95): see Adams' discussion, with parallels, on p.139.

purus eris: Although undoubtedly widely practised, fellatio was nonetheless stigmatised in Rome, as in other societies (compare The Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana, transl. Sir Richard Burton, New York 1986 repr., pp. 126 ff.). When M. uses purus suggestively (with 'impurity' in mind), he is usually referring to oral sex: cf. Mart. 6.66.5, 9.67.7, and see Adams p.199, Kay p. 207; cf. also Mart. 9.63.2 (referring to pedicatio).

14.70 Rhodian biscuit

Do not strike the teeth of an offending slave with your fist: let him eat the cake which illustrious Rhodes has sent you.

le. copta Rhodiaca: Copta survives here only in Latin: ThLL IV.917.11 s.v. copta [Lambertz]; cf. capton, however, which survives in glosses: ThLL III.380.38 s.v. capton [Mbr], and coptoplacentis (at Petr. 40.4 and A.L. 190.47). In Greek, cf. the κοτὰι... σησαμίδες, cakes of pounded sesame, at Artemid. 1.72, and κοτῆ (unqualified) at Sopat. ap. Athen. 649a; also A.P. 12.212.5.

In suggesting that a slave should be fed copta Rhodiaca as a punishment, M. might be punning on κόπτειν, 'to beat'. (On slave beatings, see at Mart. 14.79. le. below. For the implications of servile consumption for the ordering of the epigrams, see Intro. 'Order'.) Regarding unwanted gifts which are passed on, see at Mart. 14.72. le. n. below.

A biscuit like copta Rhodiaca might be meant at A.L. 223:

de pastillo coceti

blandum mellis opus sollerti fingitur arte.
faucibus hoc dulce est, dentibus interitus.

1: The alliterative p is perhaps intended to help convey the biscuit's hardness, as might the line's dental sounds.

2 clara Rhodos: The epithet recurs at Mart. 4.55.6; cf. Hor. Carm. 1.7.1 'laudabant alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen'. Rhodes was famous for many things, e.g. sunshine, navigation, the Colossus, its rhetoric - and hard biscuits. For mitto of exports, see Mart. 14.114.2 n. below.

14.71 A pig

This pig will make you a good Saturnalia, having fed on acorns amongst the foaming boars.

le. porcus: The meat most commonly eaten at Rome was pork: see at Mart. 14.221 below. But, in addition, pork was particularly associated with the Saturnalian celebrations (see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section B). Apicius gives numerous recipes for cooking pork, or for sauces to garnish it (Apic. 8.7.1-17).

1: Iste suggests that this is no ordinary pig; he has in fact been well fattened and will ensure a good Saturnalia. The epigram therefore describes a rich man's present, in contrast to the botulus of Mart. 14.72.

2 inter spumantes illice pastus apros: G.Stégen, l'Antiquité classique 40(1971), p. 217, contrasts Verg. A. 4.158-9 'spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis/ optat aprum', suggesting a deliberate inversion: Anchises prays for a foaming boar amongst tame deer. M. speaks of a fattened (domesticated) pig amongst foaming boars. Had M. wanted to echo Virgil, however, he would surely have done it more noticeably. For instance, had there been 'illice pastus' in the Virgil, Stégen's case would have been more persuasive. As it is, it seems safer to say that the similarities between the two passages exist only because both poets use the usual vocabulary relating to boars (see the citations at 'spumantes...apros').

The point of the pentameter is not to invert Virgil (which in itself is a meaningless exercise), but to stress the importance of this pig: it

has grown fat amongst wild boars, and, since wild boar was a luxury or party dish, particularly when eaten whole (cf. Juv. 1.140-1), this pig too has special status. (One might speculate that this pig was a hybrid, i.e. the offspring of a boar and a domestic sow (cf. Mart. 8.22); but there is no firm evidence.)

spumantes...apros: Cf. Verg. *A.* 4.158-9 (quoted above) with Pease, 1.324, Apul. *Met.* 8.4 'aper...dentibus attritu sonaci spumeus', Mart. 11.69.9 'spumantis apri', 14.221.2 below.

ilice pastus: Cf. Mart. 7.27.1-2 'aper...ilice multa/ iam piger'. *Ilex* refers here and at Mart. 7.27.1-2 not to the holm oak tree, but its acorns. Contrast Mart. 14.92.1 'puncta notis ilex' where the tree's wood is meant; cf. Verg. *A.* 4.505. Fine dinner-table boars were fattened on acorns: cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2.4.40 'umber et iligna nutritus glande rotundas/ curvat aper lances carnem vitantis inertem'. In contrast, pigs could be fed on vegetables (Apic. 8.7.14). The quality of this pig derives not only from the company it kept, but also from its exceptional diet.

14.72 A sausage

The sausage which came to you in the time of mid-winter had come before the seven days of Saturn.

le.: The botulus was a kind of sausage: cf. Gel. 16.17.11 '[sc. Laberius] in mimo, qui Saturnalia inscriptus est, botulum pro farcimine appellat', Paul ap. Fest. 35M 'botulus genus est farciminis. propter connexionem a bolis sic appellatur', Charisius GLK 1.94.12 'ut puta Lucanicum, intellegitur pulmentum vel intestinum, et hic Lucanicus,

auditur botulus vel apparatus'. The glossaries render botulus as φούσκη.

Apicius gives a recipe for the botellus or little botulus (2.3.2): 'botellum sic facies: sex ovi vitellis coctis, nucleis, pineis concisis cepam, porrum concisum, ius crudum misces, piper minutum <addes> et sic intestinum farcies. adicies liquamen et vinum, et sic coques'. The botellus is also referred to at Mart. 5.78.9, 11.31.13, Sidon. Ep. 8.11.3. verse 46.

At Petr. 49.9-10, the botulus is used to stuff a pig. This is perhaps corroboration of the inferiority of a sausage to a pig: while the rich man gives the roast, the poor man gives its complement, the stuffing (other complementary gifts are listed at Mart. 14.31.1e. n. above). Another indication of this present's cheapness is that it has been passed on by someone who did not want it: the use of tenses is significant, venerat indicating when the first recipient took delivery, venit when the second. Unwanted presents were passed on not only by masters to slaves (cf. Mart. 14.70 above, 13.26), but also by patrons to their clients (Mart. 13.121) and acquaintances to one another (Mart. 7.53.1 ff.).

Sausages were apparently customary Saturnalia presents: Stat. Silv. 4.9.35.

1 mediae...tempore brumae: i.e. during the Saturnalia, not before it. On the Saturnalia as a mid-winter festival, see briefly Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and n. 13. For the number of days' celebration, whether seven ('septem...ante dies', line 2) or five, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section B.

14.73-6:

A section on pet birds follows. Those mentioned - the parrot, crow/raven, nightingale and magpie - were celebrated mimics (see generally Pollard ch. 15 'Birds as pets', especially pp.136 ff.). The section precedes an epigram describing a cage suitable for Lesbia's passer (Mart. 14.77), a less boisterous bird not generally regarded as a mimic (although see ad loc. for an exception).

Birds were common gifts, especially given by lovers: Pollard p.139 f. They feature amongst the apophoreta given by Verus (S.H.A. Ver. 5, Mohler p.254), and those at Petr. 56.7-10. While they would have appealed to women, they would also have been of interest to children; see Mohler p.257 n.58, D-S I(1) p.700 col. 1 ff. s.v. bestiae mansuetae [E.Cougnny, E.Sagliol] and figs 843-7, R.E. IIIA.1777.56 ff. s.v. Spielzeug [Hugl]. Regarding gifts for women and children, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and at Mart. 14.19.2 above. A child receives a pet gazelle at Mart. 13.99(98).1: 'delicium parvo donabis dorcada nato'.

M. achieves varietas in this section by having the bird speak in two epigrams, by addressing the bird in another and, in the remaining poem, by a third person reference.

There is no way of discerning the relative values of these birds except by position in the RP sequence.

14.73 A parrot

Being a parrot, I shall learn the names of others from you. I learned to say this on my own: 'Caesar, hail!'.

le. psittacus: On parrots in antiquity, see D'Arcy Thompson, Birds pp.335 ff., Pollard pp.16, 137-8 and Toynbee pp.247-9.

1 a vobis aliorum nomina discam: The parrot's powers of mimicry were especially celebrated: Dionysius Au. 1.19, Pliny Nat. 10.117 'super omnia humanas voces reddunt (sc. aves), psittaci quidem etiam sermocinantes', Ovid Am. 2.6.1 imitatrix; cf. line 37 f. 'occidit ille loquax humanae vocis imago/ psittacus', Stat. Silv. 2.4.2 'humanae sollers imitator' with van Dam.

Bird mimics were usually taught by their owners to greet people, whether by name ('aliorum nomina') or generally. For parrots, cf. Pers. Prol. 8 'quis expedit psittaco suum 'chaire'. At Mart. 14.74.1, note salutator of a crow; cf. 'dominum te...saluto' (Mart. 14.76.1) of a magpie (further examples appear at the other bird epigrams below).

2 hoc didici per me dicere: 'Caesar have': Every self-respecting and patriotic bird-mimic learned to greet the emperor (while those whose owners desired imperial favour might have to learn a good deal more). References are numerous. Pliny Nat. 10.117 'imperatores (imperatorem: Rackham) salutatur' and Stat. Silv. 2.4.29-30 'ille salutator regum nomenque locutus/ Caesareum...' describe parrots; cf. Crinagoras 24 Gow and Page of an escaped parrot which trains other birds to say 'Hail Caesar'. Weinreich, Studien pp.113 ff., gives general discussion and assembles amusing anecdotes from Antiquity. See too the Loeb at Mart. 3.95.2.

This parrot is unusual in that, although it will learn 'a vobis' the names of others, its ability to greet emperors is self-acquired. Given the selective nature of the bird's autodidacticism, however, the remarkability of its achievement comes to rest less with itself and more with the emperor who could have inspired so remarkable a phenomenon; cf.

Mart. Sp. 17.3 (of an elephant) 'non facit hoc iussus, nulloque docente magistro', 1.104.21-2 (of a lion), Plutarch Moralia 972b: Juba reports that elephants pray ἀδίδακτως. The idea that gods/ men with god-like status had power over animals was widespread in the ancient world (Weinreich Studien pp.74 ff.), and this epigram's implications regarding Domitian are clear; cf. Mart. Sp. 30.7-8.

That this parrot's autodidactism derives from the emperor's greatness rather than the bird's natural intelligence conforms to the general view of bird-mimics, that, while eloquent, they lacked understanding: cf. Philostratus Vit. Apoll. Tyan. 1.7 (of philosophers schooled by rote like birds), Apul. Fl. 12.19 'verum enimvero et corvus et psittacus nihil aliud quam quod didicerunt (sc. from others) pronuntiant'; Isid. Orig. 12.7.46.

On the pronunciation have, see Quint. Inst. 1.6.21: to omit the aspirate was regarded as pedantic in his day. For a detailed discussion of aspiration in Latin, see Fordyce at Catul. 84, particularly on p.374.

14.74 A crow

Welcoming crow, why are you considered a cock-sucker? No penis has entered your head.

Regarding M's obscene epigrams, see at Mart. 14.69 above.

le. corvus: See the discussions of ravens/ crows by D'Arcy Thompson, Birds, pp.159 ff., and Pollard, esp. pp. 16, 27, 136.

1 corve saluator: See at Mart. 14.73.1 nomina; cf. 3.95.2 and the crow at Pliny Nat. 10.121 ff.: 'Tiberio principe ex fetu supra Castorum aedem

genito pullus in adpositam sutrinam devolavit, etiam religione commendatus est officinae domino. is mature sermone adsuefactus, omnibus matutinis evolans in rostra in forum versus Tiberium, dein Germanicum et Drusum Caesares nominatim, mox transeuntem populum Romanum salutabat, postea ad tabernam remeans, plurium annorum adsiduo officio mirus'. Ironically, perhaps, it was a crow (cornix) that is said to have foretold Domitian's death: Suet Dom. 23.2.

2 quare fellator haberis: This refers to the popular belief that 'ore eos (sc. corvos) parere aut coire' (Pliny Nat. 10.32); cf. Arist. G.A. 756b13 εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ λέγουσι κατὰ τὸ στόμα μίγνυσθαι τοὺς τε κόρακας καὶ τὴν ἰβην; see D'Arcy Thompson Birds p.160. Aristotle traces the belief to Anaxagoras καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς φυσικῶν. It seems also to have been held of pigeons.

The joke of this epigram is explained by Adams (p.126 f.): fello is used of a penis-sucker; irrumo of someone inserting his penis to be sucked. Since irrumo is often also used to mean 'to silence someone' (Adams p.127), it being difficult to speak with one's mouth full, a fellator would correspondingly be someone who had been silenced. Hence the word is totally unsuitable of a crow, it being far too noisy to be irrumatus (Isid. Orig. 12.7.45 describes the bird's garrulity). The rhyming endings of salutator and fellator help point the paradox.

2: In caput intravit mentula nulla tuum emphasizes that the crow is never silent.

Intro is not generally used in our sense of sexual entry (Adams p.191), but for going into a room vel sim. 'coeundi causa' (see the

passages at ThLL VII(2).61.35 ff. s.v. intro [Freil]). Its use here is not sexual and results from the personification of mentula.

Mentula is discussed in detail by Adams (pp.9 ff.). M. uses it more than any other word for 'penis' (48 times; Kay (p.100) counts 49).

14.75 A nightingale

Philomela bewails the crime of incestuous Tereus and she who was a silent girl is called a talkative bird.

le. luscina: Information concerning nightingales can be found in D'Arcy Thompson, Birds pp.16 ff., and Pollard, p.42 f. Pollard implies that the nightingale, today not generally regarded as a mimic, will nevertheless answer a human voice (ch. 4 n.1). Pliny, Nat. 10.120, is more specific: '...item lusciniæ, Graeco et Latino sermone dociles,...'.

1 flet Philomela...: In Greek versions of the myth, it was generally Procne who was turned into a nightingale, while Philomela became a swallow (D'Arcy Thompson Birds p.22). The story is told in full in Roscher, II p.569.50 ff. s.v. Itys: Tereus, king of Thrace and husband of Procne, raped his sister-in-law Philomela and cut her tongue out (hence muta, line 2) to prevent her telling. Procne nonetheless found out (see below at garrula, line 2) and tricked Tereus into eating his son Itys. All four were turned into birds.

Connections with the Philomela story aside, the nightingale was generally, if mistakenly, considered melancholy (flet): see in detail D'Arcy Thompson Birds p.20. In the context of Philomela, cf. Ovid Am. 2.6.7-8. 'quod scelus Ismarii quereris, Philomela, tyranni/ expleta est annis ista querela suis'.

With incesti, cf. Aus. Ecl. 93.28 Prete 'Tereos incesti'. (For incestus used of those who have sex with relatives, see ThLL VII(1).894.14 ff. s.v. incestus [O.Prinz])

quae: For M's monosyllabic hexameter endings, see Intro. 'Metre'.

2 garrula: Contrast muta. While the epithet is common of vocal birds, it is especially apt of Philomela, having connotations of blabbing or spilling the beans (cf. Sen. Ag. 675, applied to Philomela as a swallow). But its use in this context is interesting, given that before metamorphosis Philomela told of her violation by means of embroidery rather than vocally - garrulus is not common of non-vocal communication (although see ThLL VI(2).1699.32 ff. s.v. garrulus [Drexler]. Pliny Nat. 10.81 also has garrulus of the nightingale, albeit not of Philomela).

14.76 A magpie

A talkative magpie, I greet you as master with a sure voice. Did you not see me, you would deny I was a bird.

le. pica: This bird is more specifically the pica caudata: pica can also be used of the jay or $\chi\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ (D'Arcy Thompson Birds p.146). It is a very common bird in Greece; one thinks of Gerald Durrell's 'magenpies' (My Family and Other Animals, Harmondsworth (Penguin) 1976 repr., ch. 15).

1 loquax: Cf. Ovid Met. 5.299 'imitantes omnia picae', 678 'raucaeque garrulitas studiumque inmane loquendi', Pers. Prol. 9 etc. Loquax describes a parrot at Ovid Am. 2.6.37. Compare the garrulity of the jay, for which see D'Arcy Thompson Birds p.147.

certa dominum te voce saluto: Cf. Petr. 28.9 'super limen...cavea pendebat aurea, in qua pica varia intrantes salutabat', Mart. 7.87.6 'pica salutrix', 9.54.9 of a wild magpie; see Mart. 14.73.1 n. above.

A bird could obviously not welcome all its owner's guests by name; hence dominum; cf. Sen. Ep. 3.1 'obvios, si nomen non succurrit, dominos salutamus'.

2: Esse negabis avem reinforces certa...voce. Since parrots were the best mimics (see references at Mart. 14.73.1), this is high praise for a magpie.

negabis: One would expect a perfect subjunctive after videas. For such 'mixed' conditions, see H.C.Nutting, The Latin Conditional Sentence, Berkeley 1925, ch. 7, esp. pp. 81 ff.

14.77 An ivory cage

If you ever have such a bird as Lesbia, beloved of Catullus, used to bewail, it can live here.

le. cavea eborea: Cages of ivory were valuable (Stat. Silv. 2.4.11-12), and, indeed, a cheap cage would not have suited Lesbia's precious bird. Whether this cage is more expensive than the ivory narthecium of Mart. 14.78 is, however, hard to say (cf. Intro. 'Order'). If valued here by position, it is R.

General remarks concerning cages can be found at D-S I(2) p.980 col. 1 ff. s.v. cavea [E.Sagliol].

1-2 qualem.../ Lesbia plorabat: See Catul. 3, esp. lines 1 lugete and 18 'flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli'.

plorabat TC^a: plorabas B^a. Reading plorabas and taking Lesbia as vocative introduces a personal element in keeping with Lesbia's emotion. But the poem then has two addressees, and M. points other vocatives in Book 14 more clearly, usually with an imperative. See 14.59, 74, 79, 86, 134, 140, 172.

On the lengthening of naturally short closed vowels at the caesura, see Platnauer pp.59 ff.

hic habitare potest: Not all birds could live in cages made solely of ivory, however suited they were to such luxurious accommodation by their value: while ivory was used in the cage of Melior's parrot, the bars themselves were silver ('argenteus ordo', Stat. Sily. 2.4.12), brittle ivory presumably not being strong enough to withstand a psittacine beak; cf. Crinagoras 24 Gow and Page, where a parrot escapes from a wicker-work cage.

The species of Lesbia's passer has been debated. Clearly it was small and a song-bird rather than some of the larger mimics hitherto described: note Catul. 2.2-3: its finger-pecking patently did not hurt and it was small enough to be held in one's breast, 3.9 circumsiliens (larger birds would walk), 10 pipiabat (rather than talking). The most likely candidate is the blue rock thrush, an excellent singer and a common caged pet at Rome (Pollard p.135; while Pliny Nat. 10.120 records a talking thrush, this was unusual: 'Agrippina Claudii Caesaris turdum habuit, quod numquam ante, imitantem sermones hominum'). A delicate ivory cage would have been quite adequate for such a bird.

potest: After erit, one would expect the future tense in the apodosis.

For present indicatives with future reference, see H-Sz II p.308, Woodcock §194.

14.78 A medicine chest

You see a medicine chest, the ivory equipment of the medical art. You will have a gift which Paccius would want to be his own.

le. narthecium: The νάρθηκιον, a medicine chest or ointment box, was so called since originally such a container would simply have comprised a hollow section of fennel or narthex wood, closed at one end by a knot and at the other by a lid. Later versions became more elaborate - witness the ivory example here. Since medicine was a Greek art, it is perhaps not surprising that the word survives in Latin only here and at Cic. Fin. 2.22 'doloris medicamenta illa Epicurea tamquam de narthecio proment'. For further information see R.E. XVI.1770.51 ff. s.vv. Νάρθηξ, narthecium [W.Hartkel].

The value of this object is considered in the introduction ('Order'), at Mart. 14.77 above, and below.

1 artis ebur medicae narthecia cernis: The plural narthecia is unavoidable for metrical reasons, as is the singular ebur. The translation above (cf. Loeb) is the only acceptable way of rendering line 1, and this epigram is not in the same category as those, containing a numerical discrepancy between lemma and epigram, which are listed at Mart. 14.21. le.

medicae TB^a: medici C^a. Both make sense, but medicae yields greater fluency by avoiding a surfeit of possessive genitives.

1-2 habebis/ munera quae cuperet Paccius esse sua: Paccius Antiochus, a famous medical practitioner, is mentioned by Scribonius Largus (97, 156, 220) and Galen (see Keil's index). Juv. 12.99 mentions an orbus (i.e. he is rich and childless) called Pacius, but no medical connections are stated.

Since this narthecium is ivory and such as might be coveted by a Paccius, it is clearly valuable. Whether more or less so than the ivory cage of Mart. 14.77, it is impossible to say, save that it is here P by position.

14.79 Whips

Play, lighthearted slaves, but only so long: I will seal these up for five days.

le. flagra: Roman school children were regularly beaten (see at Mart. 14.80 below), and beating later became legal as a punishment for adult citizens of the lower orders (albeit with a rod rather than a lash: Macer. dig. 48.19.10; contrast practice in St Paul's day: Acts 16.37). It would therefore have been surprising had Romans not beaten their slaves too. For slave beatings, see Thomas Weidemann, Greek and Roman Slavery, London 1981, index s.v. 'punishment'; cf. Hor. Epod. 4.11.3, Mart. 8.23.3, Petr. 105.4 ff.

Illustrations can be found of a variety of whips, some with multiple and weighted tails, in D-S II(2) p.1154 f. s.v. flagellum [G.Fougeres]: figs 3089-93. The whip here described might, however, have been a toy, intended for a child (see at Mart. 14.55.le. above). Concerning such gifts, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and at Mart. 14.19.2 above.

1 ludite lascivi...servi: Concerning the licence granted slaves at the Saturnalia, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section C. Ludo refers generally to the seasonal merry-making (OLD s.v. ludo §5), but might also refer to the gambling tolerated during the festival (OLD s.v. ludo §3).

Lascivus has connotations of playfulness (OLD s.v. lascivus §1), frivolousness (ibid. §2) and mischievousness (ibid. §3). Compare lascivio, which is used of unrestrained action (OLD s.v. lascivio §3a).

The delaying of servi to the end of the hexameter possibly acts as a reminder that, for all their present freedom, the addressees are still slaves who will have to revert to their subject status once the holiday is over.

sed tantum ludite: Tantum is principally temporal here (OLD s.v. tantum B §7b): the slaves can play only so long as the holiday lasts. Nevertheless, it might also suggest a limit to the amount of licence the master is prepared to tolerate: they can get away with only so much.

2 signata: i.e. locked up and sealed; the usage is rare, but cf. Quint. Inst. 6.3.50 'ut Nero de servo pessimo dixit "nulli plus apud se fidei haberi, nihil ei nec clusum neque signatum esse"'.

quinque diebus: On the duration of the Saturnalia, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' Section B.

14.80 Rods

Much hated by boys and beloved of schoolmasters, we are the wood made distinguished by the Promethean gift.

le.: Ferulae, B^A, agrees with the plurals of the epigram (e.g. invisae, sumus). Ferula, TC^A, does not. Numerical difference between lemma and epigram does not on its own mean that ferula is necessarily wrong: see at Mart. 14.21.le.; given its superior MS support, it deserves some consideration. Ferulae should be adopted, however, to accord with the plural flagra at Mart. 14.79.le.

The ferulae here are rods made specifically from the giant fennel, ferula communis (see on Prometheo, line 2. The word ferula could, however, be used generally of rods or sticks without particular regard to what they were composed of: see OLD s.v. ferula §2). The fennel plant is tall and umbelliferous with a hollow pithy stalk. For full details, botanical and mythological, see D-S II(2) pp. 1094-5 s.v. ferula [P.Paris]; cf. Pliny Nat. 13.123. For fennel canes, cf. e.g. Xen. Cyr. 2.3.20. Aristotle compares the bruising effect of a fennel cane with that of others (Probl. 889b32 ff.). Given the use of fennel for canes, Mohler is right to be tentative in suggesting (p. 257 n.58) that this gift was intended for children.

Since fennel grew naturally and of its own accord, it was free. Whips, being manufactured, are more likely to be rich men's gifts.

1 invisae nimium pueris grataeque magistris: Cf. Mart. 10.62.10 'ferulae...tristes, sceptrā paedagogorum', Juv. 1.15 'et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus' with Courtney and, in great detail, Mayor. The use of the rod in schools is condemned by Seneca (de Clem. 1.16.3), Quintilian (Inst. 1.3.14 f.) and Plutarch (Educ. 8f), but such condemnation was the exception: on the liberal use of corporal punishment in Roman schools, see Stanley F. Bonner, Education in Ancient

Rome, London 1977, pp.143 ff., Paoli p.168, Carcopino p. 120, Headlam on Herodas 3, p.119; cf. Mart. 14.19.2 above, Hor. Ep. 2.1.70 plagosum (of the notorious Orbilius; see Brink ad loc.).

2 clara Prometheo munere ligna sumus: After stealing the fire, Prometheus hid it in a fennel stalk: Hes. Th. 566-7 κλέψας... πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγὴν/ ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι; cf. Op. 52, Pliny Nat. 7.198 '[lignem]...adservare ferula Prometheus (invenit)'. Surrounded by a hard shell, the pith of the fennel stalk burns slowly while the fire is safely contained. Other substances stored in the fennel stalk included medicine (see Mart. 14.78.1e n. narthecium). For references to fennel containers, see OLD s.v. ferula §1b.

14.81 A satchel

The satchel asks that it might not bear the beggarly lunch of a bearded and naked man and sleep with a grim dog.

The joke of this epigram rests on a pun on canis: the beggar might well have had a dog (Friedländer SG. I p.145), but he was also one of the cynic philosophers who abounded in the 1st Century, 'cynic' being derived from κύων. (Hence cane, line 2, is qualified by tetrico, referring to the characteristic grimness not of dogs but of philosophers: see below.) Puns on 'cynic' and canis were commonplace. Note Mart 4.53:

hunc, quem saepe vides intra penetralia nostrae
Pallados et templi limina, Cosme, novi
cum baculo peraque senem, cui cana putrisque
stat coma et in pectus sordida barba cadit,
cerea quem nudi tegit uxor abolla grabati,
cui dat latratos obvia turba cibos,
esse putas Cynicum deceptus imagine ficta.
non est hic Cynicus, Cosme: quid ergo? canis.

Cf. Varro Men. 516, Suet. Vesp. 13.

le.: Characteristic of itinerant philosophers and especially the Cynics was the pera or satchel: in addition to Mart. 4.53.3 above, cf. Petr. 14.2 line 3 'ipsi qui Cynica traducunt tempora pera' and see Friedländer SG. I p.145, R.E. XIX.564.15 ff. s.v. pera [F.Wotke], D-S IV(1) p.386 col. 1 f. s.v. pera [Georges Lafayel], and fig. 5566 (a peasant with a pera and a dog). See too Theodor H.Feder, Great Treasures of Pompeii and Herculaneum, New York 1978, pp.56-7: the beggar's pouch appears in a death's head mosaic, now in the Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, Naples.

Other references to the pera include Apul. Fl. 14 and Apol. 22.2, 25.4 (in all cases, paired with the baculum; cf. Mart. 4.53.3 above).

1 mendica...prandia: The pera was usually used to carry food; cf. Hom. Od. 17.411 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες δίδουσαν, πλήσαν δ' ἄρα πῆρην/ σίτου καὶ χρείων.

The Cynic filled his pera by begging: see Dudley p.98; cf. Lucian Cynic. 2 διαφέρεις γὰρ οὐδὲν σὺ τῶν πτωχῶν, οἱ τὴν ἐφήμερον τροφὴν μεταιτῶσιν, Mart. 4.53.6. Nevertheless, the OLD s.v. mendicus s2 is probably correct to gloss mendica here as 'beggarly' or 'mean': the Cynics sought ἀπάθεια through frugality. See Friedländer SG. III p.272, Dudley p.95; cf. Epict. Diss. 3.22.47 ἴδετε με, ἄοικος εἰμι, ἄπολις, ἄκτημων, ἄδουλος· χαμαὶ κοιμῶμαι· οὐ γυνή, οὐ παιδί, οὐ πραιτωρίδιον, ἀλλὰ γῆ μόνον καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἐν τριβωνάριον. ... (3.22.49) τίς με ἰδὼν οὐχὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὁρᾶν οἶεται καὶ δεσπότην;

Prandium can be used generally to mean 'meal': cf. Mart. 4.49.3-4

'ille magis ludit qui scribit prandia saevi/ Tereos aut cenam, crude Thyesta, tuam'. When used specifically, however, it refers to the mid-day meal; cf. Mart. 14.67.1 above. Since this meal was not substantial (Carcopino p.287), it is possible that something extremely paltry is signalled by mendica...prandia here; cf. Otto p.72 n. **.

barbati: Beards did not become common in Rome until the reign of Hadrian: see Kay at Mart. 11.58.5. Before that, they were a characteristic feature of the philosophers, who would argue that their facial growth was in accordance with Nature's intentions; see Kay in detail at Mart. 11.84.7 'tondeat hic inopes Cynicos et Stoica menta', Paoli p.110, OLD s.v. barbatus s1b; cf. Mart 4.53.4 quoted above, 9.27.6, 47.1-4.

nudi: In their search for ἀντήρα, the Cynics discarded the tunic, wearing instead a double pallium with nothing underneath. See Mayor and Courtney at Juv. 13.122 and Mayor at Juv. 14.308-9 (on the pallium, see at Mart. 14.138.2 below); cf. Lucian Cynic. 1 τί ποτέ σύ, οὗτος, πάγων μὲν ἔχεις καὶ κόμην, χιτῶνα δὲ οὐκ ἔχεις; , M. Aurelius 4.30 ὁ μὲν χωρὶς χιτῶνος φιλοσοφεῖ (where, however, the school of the philosopher is not identified).

2 (ne) dormiat et tetrico cum cane: For the pun on canis, see above. Presumably the philosopher would have used his satchel as a cushion, as indeed might his dog, if he had one. The appellation 'dog' was derogatory and even abusive: Petr. 74.10, Ter. Eun. 803. This satchel evidently considers itself above such company as Cynics or beggars - who

were generally despised: see Kay p.143 (it is perhaps the satchel's attitude that establishes it as a rich man's gift. If not, it must be valued by position only).

tetrico C^α: tristi TB^α. Both words mean 'grim' or something similar. Followed by Shackleton Bailey, Heraeus favours the comparatively rare tetrico as lectio difficilior, comparing Mart. 1.62.2 'et quamvis tetrico tristior ipsa viro'. Although I cannot find tetricus used elsewhere of a philosopher, this is not to say that it is wrong here; and its having been used would make tristis a natural gloss. (Tristis describes a philosopher at Lucil. 821 Warmington 'tristis et severus philosophus'; cf. Petr. 85.2 'quotiescumque enim in convivio de usu formosorum mentio facta est, tam vehementer excandui, tam severa tristitia violari aures meas obsceno sermone nolui, ut me mater praecipue tamquam unum ex philosophis intueretur'.)

For the austerity and asceticism preached by the Cynics, see Friedländer SG. III p.274; cf. Epictetus cited above.

Instead of et, one might expect neve or neu (Woodcock §139). Neu would scan. See, however, H-Sz II p.500: thus used, et is fairly common in post-Augustan poets.

14.82 A broom

The palm tree bears witness that the broom was once valued; but now the crumb-collector gives it a rest.

le.: Brooms made from branches tied together were called scopae. Alternatives to palm branches were elm, tamarisk and myrtle (R.E.

IIA.830.42 ff. s.v. scopae [Hug]).

Varro (L. 10.24) and Quintilian (Inst. 1.5.16) regard the plural scopae as being the correct form; hence the translation 'broom' above. In fact, the singular does occur, but only when the word is used of the shrub 'butcher's broom', i.e. scopa regia (see OLD s.v. scopae §1c).

D-S IV(1) p.1122 col. 2 s.v. scopae [E.Sagliol] provides general information on brooms. References are collected at OLD ibid. §1b.

1 in pretio...testatur palma fuisse: M's epigram establishes the low cost of brooms by implication: brooms used not to be valued intrinsically, but for the function they performed. Now, however, even this value is lost, thanks to the analecta. The cheapness of brooms is more specifically stated at Hor. Serm. 2.4.81-2 'vilibus in scopis...quantus/ consistit sumptus?'. It is only here and at Hor. Serm. 2.4.83 that palma survives metonymically thus of brooms: ThLL X(1).147.66 ff. s.v. palma [Adkin].

With M's use of in pretio, cf. Cic. S.Rosc. 77 'apud eum sunt in honore et in pretio' and see OLD s.v. pretium §4a.

Fuisse contrasts with nunc (line 2).

2: The analecta was a slave employed by the ostentatiously wealthy to pick up from the floor by hand the scraps left over from a meal; cf. Mart. 7.20.17 'analecta quidquid et canes reliquerunt' and see Marquardt Prl. p.147 n.9. Previously, scoparii had swept up the food dropped by diners. See Paoli p.95. A mosaic from Rome, a copy of the ἑσάρματος οἶκος originally created by Sosos of Pergamon, depicts the kinds of scraps with which such slaves were faced (Paoli fig. 16; cf. Pliny Nat.

36.184).

Although of Greek origin, the word analecta, scarce enough in Latin, does not survive in Greek literature (L-S-J s.v.). It survives in its true sense of a scrap-collecting slave only in M. A transferred usage survives at Sen. Ep. 27.7 'suasit illi...ut grammaticos haberet analectas'.

dedit T: dabunt B^{AC}: dabit Scriverius. B^{AC}'s reading was probably introduced by scribes who considered analecta n.pl. and, dederunt being unmetrical, emended to the future (which does not accord well with nunc. Schryver's alteration to the singular does not go far enough).

14.83-106: A^a deest.

14.83 An ivory scratcher

This scratcher will defend shoulders from a tiresome biting flea, or anything fouler than a flea.

le. scalptorium eboreum: Regarding the reading eboreum, see Lindsay, CR 17(1903), p.48 n.1: of the MSS, only L and F offer it, but a valuable gift is required here to follow Mart. 14.82 and so it fits very well.

Scalptorium survives here only. The object's function is evident from the epigram: shaped perhaps like a hand (manus, line 1) and attached to a stick, the scratcher was used to scratch those parts of the back normally out of reach.

1: Manus survives nowhere else of a back-scratchers: OLD s.v. S2c, ThLL VIII.366.40 s.v. manus [Bulhart].

mordente molesto pulice: The troublesome nature of the flea is conveyed by the accumulated adjectives. Fleas caused considerable irritation, as did other such creatures; cf. Plaut. Curc. 499 ff.: 'item genus est lenonium inter homines meo quidem animo/ ut muscae, culices, cimices, pedesque pulicesque:/ odio et malo et molestiae, bono usui estis nulli,/ nec vobiscum quisquam in foro frugi consistere audet'.

The flea's nature was improperly understood (consider e.g. Aristotle H.A. 556b25 ff. on its spontaneous generation from rotting matter). This possibly explains the more bizarre methods of extermination described by ancient authors, e.g. sprinkling soil containing the impression of a cuckoo's right foot: Pliny Nat. 30.85. That said, other measures advocated by Pliny would probably have worked; e.g. the use of penny royal (mentha pulegium) described at Nat. 20.155 (my thanks to Mrs Estelle Brink of the Grahamstown Herbarium. On the insecticide properties of plant oils in general, see H.J.Holman, A Survey of Insecticide Materials of Vegetable Origin, London 1940, p.139.).

General comments on fleas in Antiquity can be found in Greek Insects, p.149.

2 vel si quid pulice sordidius: This construction is characteristic of Catullus; cf. Catul. 22.13 'aut si quid hac re scitius videbatur', 82.2 'aut...si quid carius est oculis' and 13.10 'seu quid suavius elegantiusve est', at which see Fordyce.

Keller writes, 'Weniger verhasst als Laus und Wanze war der dritte im Bund dieser Parasiten, der Floh' (Tierwelt II p.400). Pliny has many ideas on how to deal with the cimex or bed-bug (Nat. 27.80, 32.124,

[136] etc.; note too Varro R. 1.2.25). On coping with lice, see Pliny Nat. 29.121.

Regarding polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Intro. 'Metre'. For this use of sordidius, see OLD s.v. sordidus §2: the word describes principally the dirt or neglect which allows fleas or worse to thrive, but has been transferred to the flea itself.

14.84 A portable bookstand

In case your toga or cloak should fray your books, this fir-wood will give papyrus long life.

le. manuale: Manus (cf. Mart. 14.83.1) connects these two epigrams (cf. Birt p.77), the connection identifying the manuale as the cheap version of the sculptorium eboreum, in accordance with the RP sequence.

The word manuale is rare. The OLD (s.v. manuale §1) takes it to refer to a case to protect a roll when put into one's pocket or under one's cloak. ThLL VIII.335.9 ff. s.v. manuale [Deickel] differs, glossing 'lectorium ligneum, pulpitem portabile', and has the support of the glossaries (CGL II.127.7, III.198.34, 327.22, 352.21; cf. index s.v. manuale); see too T.Birt, Die Buchrolle in der Kunst, Leipzig 1907, p.176 and cf. Pollux 10.60, Hsch s.v. ἀναγνώστηριον. Without such a stand, the bottom edge of a papyrus roll would fray through contact with the reader's stomach.

1 barbatus...libros: Cf. Pliny Nat. 19.14 'barbatae nucis fructum': the adjective is often applied to plants (ThLL II.1746.8 ff. s.v. barbatus [Münscher]) and therefore, while M's usage lacks exact parallels, there

is nothing odd about its describing worn papyrus.

For the toga, see at Mart. 14.124-5 below. See Mart. 14.127. le n. below for the paenula.

2 abies: the silver fir. It was used also for making writing tablets (Quint. Inst. 8.6.20), and the lemma is needed here to clarify absolutely what it is to which M. refers; see at Mart. 14.2.3 above.

tempora longa: Papyrus was tough and durable (Roberts and Skeat pp. 6-7). Records survive of its lasting 300 years and more (Lewis pp. 60-61), and, indeed, our knowledge of ancient literature owes much to fragments which have lasted into the modern era. Nevertheless, one would want to protect rolls, especially if they were fine editions.

14.85 A peacock-veined couch

Very beautiful with its painted feathers, a bird gives its name to a couch; now it is Juno's, but earlier it was Argus.

le. lectus pavoninus: Pavoninus meaning 'coloured like a peacock's tail' survives only here and at Tert. Adv. Val. 13.1; see ThLL X(1).838.32 ff. [Sinclair]. Contrast its meaning at Mart. 14.67 muscarium pavoninum.

On the lectus, see Carcopino p.45. Humble people contented themselves with simple beds, mere shelves of masonry (cf. those in the lupanaria at Pompeii). Wealthier people had more handsome couches, of bronze or wood: oak, maple, terebinth, or, as here, of citron wood, with its undulating and variegated grain. Pliny describes tables of this wood (Nat. 13.96): 'sunt et undatim crispae, maiore gratia si pavonum caudae oculos imitentur'. Citron wood furniture was extremely valuable: this is a rich

man's gift in contrast with the saddle of Mart. 14.86.

For couches generally, see D-S III(2) p.1014 col. 1 ff. s.v. lectus [P.Girard] (for citron couches, see p.1021, col. 2 and n.23). Regarding furniture as apophoreta, cf. Athen. 4.148a τῶν δ' ἡγεμόνων, ἐφ' ᾧ ἕκαστος κατέκειτο κλίνη καὶ τὰ κυλικεῖα καθὼς ταῖς στρωμαῖς ἐμεμέριστο, ἕκαστω φέρειν ἐπέτρεψε. See too Mart. 14.93-121 n. below. Other epigrams describing furniture are Mart. 14.87, 89-90.

1-2 nomina dat spondae... avis: Sponda is often used in place of lectus: Verg. A. 1.698, Hor. Epod. 3.22, Ovid Fast. 2.345, Mart. 3.91.9; see OLD s.v. sponda. Nomina is plural for metrical reasons.

1 pictis pulcherrima pinnis: Cf. Phaed. 3.18.8 'pictis...plumis gemmeam caudam explicas', Ovid Met. 2.532 'pavonibus...pictis'. At Mart. 3.58.15, one finds picta perdix. See too Pease in great detail at Verg. A. 4.525 'pictaeque volucres', and cf. Milton P.L. 7.433 f.: 'From branch to branch the smaller birds with song/ Solaced the woods, and spread their painted wings'. The alliteration in M's line emphasises the beauty of the peacock's principal attraction.

References revealing the admiration felt for the peacock's tail are collected at Mart. 14.67.2 n. See additionally Pollard pp.91 ff. and D'Arcy Thompson Birds p.279 f., both on this point and generally (pp.277 ff.).

2 nunc Iunonis: For the peacock's being Juno's bird, see Van Dam at Stat. Silv. 2.4.26 'volucris Iunonia'; cf. Ovid Med. 33 'volucris Iunonia', Ars 1.627 'avis Iunonia'.

sed prius Argus erat: According to Ovid, Argus was set by Juno to guard the cow into which Io had been changed. Lulled by the strains of Mercury's music, Argus fell asleep and was killed. Juno then transferred his hundred eyes to the tail of her bird (Met. 1.722-3). She loved this bird in particular for its association with her sanctuary on Samos (Hollis at Ovid Ars 1.627), an island whose coins later frequently bore its image.

Although exclusive to Ovid in surviving literature, this version of the story has become best known. It would appear, however, that M. has in mind an earlier version in which Hera turns Argus into a peacock: see Bömer at Ovid Met. 1.722 citing this epigram, and cf. Aristoph. Birds 102 Schol. ὁ μῦθος δὲ λέγει τὸν Ἄργον εἰς ταῶνα μεταβεβλήσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο φησὶ, πότερον ὄρνις εἶ σὺ ὁ λεγόμενος Τηρεὺς παρὰ τὸ τηρεῖν τὴν Ἰω, ἢ ταῶς. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα περισπῶσιν οἱ Ἀττικοί.

14.86 A saddle

Hunter, take up the swift horse's saddle coverings: for piles very often arise from a bare-backed mount.

le.: The ephippium was like a saddle cloth, but was designed not to protect the horse from the chafing of a leather saddle (which was not used), but to soften the mount for the rider; cf. Non. 108.27M 'tegumen equi ad mollem vecturam paratum'. While not very valuable (certainly when compared with the lectus pavoninus of Mart. 14.85), it was nonetheless a luxury for some: Varro ap. Non. 108.29-30M 'mihi puero modica una fuit tunica et...ecus sine ephippio'.

A horse equipped with an ephippium was ephippiatus (Caes. Gal. 4.2.5), while the maker or seller of ephippia was an ephippiarius (CIL 6.9376).

Cicero cites ephippium as acceptable in Latin when arguing for the adoption, as needed, of Greek loan words (Fin. 3.15).

Depictions of ephippia can be seen on coins, tombstones and Trajan's Column (D-S II(1) p.649 s.v. ephippium [G.Lafaye]). In general, see D-S loc. cit. p.647 col. 2 ff. with illustrations, R.E. V.2853.63 ff. s.v. Ἐπίππιον [Pollack].

1: Stragulum is a general word for a spread or covering. Stragula -ae is used of a horse blanket at dig. 34.2.25 §3 'stragulas et babylonica, quae equis insterni solent'. The n. form survives here only of an ephippium. Otherwise it occurs e.g. of a shroud (Petr. 42.6), bedding (Mart. 14.147.1, q.v. ad loc.) or the covering of dust placed over their eggs by brooding fowls (Pliny Nat. 10.100).

succincti...veredi: Veredus is first found in M., occurring also at Mart. 12.14.1-2: 'parcius utaris moneo rapiente veredo, / Prisce, nec in lepores tam violentus eas'. The word is probably of Gallic origin, being cognate with Pferd. As at Mart. 12.14, M. is thinking specifically here of a hunting horse (note venator); cf. CIL XII.1122 (describing Hadrian's favourite mount) 'Borysthenes alanus/ caesareus veredus/ per aequor et paludes/ et tumulos Etruscos/ volare qui solebat/ Pannonicos in apros/...'. The word came to be applied to the light horses of couriers and despatch riders: cod. Just. 12.51.4, 7, Aus. Ep. 235.7 Prete.

Succinctus is unexpected of a horse: usually it refers to one whose clothes are girt up for ease of movement; cf. e.g. Ovid Ars 3.143-4 'altera succinctae religetur more Dianae, / ut solet, attonitas cum petit

illa feras'. Since horses do not wear clothes, the adjective must be translated here as 'swift', but it is easy to appreciate how it could have come to acquire this general meaning. For the speed of the veredus, cf. Mart. 12.14.1 rapiente.

Otherwise, succinctus can mean 'armed', 'equipped', or can denote general preparedness.

2 nam solet...surgere ficus: The word ficus commonly occurs in contexts of buggery. As it is improbable that haemorrhoids should result from anal penetration just as it is that they should be caused by bare-backed riding, Adams is perhaps correct to render it as 'anal sore' (p.113; my thanks to Dr J.A.Leary). Nevertheless, it is quite possible that M. is reflecting an old wives' tale or popular belief (Don't ride bare-backed/ get bugged in case you get piles), and so I retain the Loeb's translation.

M. puns on the word ficus at 1.65.3-4: 'dicemus ficus, quas scimus in arbore nasci,/ dicemus ficos, Caeciliane, tuos'; cf. also 4.52.2 'qui modo ficus eras, iam caprificus eris', 7.71 and Celsus 6.3 'est etiam ulcus, quod a fici similitudine σύκωσις a Graecis nominatur'.

Surgo is a medical term; cf. Celsus 16.18.9a 'tertium autem vitium ora venarum tamquam ex capitulis quibusdam surgentia, quae saepe sanguinem fundunt: haemorrhoidas Graeci vocant', 6.2.1, Mart. 14.167.1 below.

a nudo equo: For nudus meaning 'without a saddle/ saddle covering', see OLD s.v. nudus 93; cf. Apul. Met. 9.33 'nudae spinae meae residens', Luc. 4.682 'gens...nudo residens Massylia dorso'.

14.87 A semi-circular couch

Accept a semi-circular couch inlaid with moon-shaped tortoise-shell. It takes eight. Let anyone come who will be a friend.

le. stibadia: While the στῖβάς was a fairly lowly bed of rushes or straw (see L-S-J), the στῖβάδιον was a luxury couch; cf. Pliny Ep. 5.6.36, Servius at Verg. A. 1.698 'antiqui...stibadia non habebant, sed stratis tribus lectis epulabantur', CIL 6.2251. In general, see R.E. IIIA.2481.21 ff. [Poland], Marquardt Prl. p.307, D-S III(2) p.1022 col. 2 s.v. lectus [P.Girard] and fig. 4398, a semi-circular couch from a Pompeian painting. For furniture as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.85.le. n. above.

1 accipe...sigma: Sigma (Itali: signa C^A: ligna B^A) is used of a lunate couch also at Mart. 10.48.6 'septem sigma capit'; cf. Sid. Carm. 17.5-6 'non tibi gemmatis ponentur prandia mensis, / Assyrius murex nec tibi sigma dabit'. (Lunate couches were also called semirotundus: Apul. Met. 5.3.)

As the Itali rightly saw, lunata is in this epigram transferred to testudine: thus sigma, already qualified by scriptum, is not overburdened. (B^A's lunatas derived its s from scriptum; C^A's lunatam might have been an attempted accusative to agree with sigma). The lunate form of the sigma was clearly established by the 4th Century B.C.: cf. Aeschrio Iamb. 1 (PLG II Bergk) Μήνη τὸ καλὸν οὐρανῶν νέον σίγμα describing the new moon, and see L-S-J s.v. Σ.

scriptum testudine: Carvilius Pollio was first to decorate 'lectosque et repositoria' with tortoise-shell inlay (Pliny Nat. 9.39), and the

practice became popular during the reign of Tiberius. G. M. A. Richter discusses the practice (pp. 155 ff.); see too Carcopino p. 45, Blümner Priv. p. 117 n. 12, Tech. II p. 377 n. 2, Marquardt Prl. p. 310. It is the size of this couch rather than its tortoise-shell decoration that marks it as a rich man's gift: the gustatorium of Mart. 14.88 is also decorated with tortoise-shell.

Other tortoise-shell couches are referred to at Varro Men. 448 'in testudineo lecto culcita plumea...dormire', L. 9.47 'lectos alios ex ebore, alios ex testudine', Mart. 9.59.9 'testudineam...hexaclinon', 12.66.5 'gemmantem prima fulgent testudine lecti', Apul. Met. 10.34 'lectus Indica testudine perlucidus', Lucian Asin. 53.

Gronovius glosses scriptum as 'variatum, pictum' (Diatrib. in Stat. ed. F. Hand, Leipzig 1812, p. 431). There can be no question of actual painting here, although the word might describe the eventual multi-toned effect of the tortoise-shell inlay. The closest parallel to scribo of inlaying or veneering appears to be Mart. 11.4.3 'scriptus et aeterno nunc primum Iuppiter auro' where carving is meant (Kay ad loc.).

2 octo capit: This is a large couch, and there is room for all comers ('veniat quisque amicus erit'). Carcopino implies (p. 44) that a couch even for six was unusually large; cf. Mart. 9.59.9 quoted above (where a six-seater couch is still unable to hold Mamurra), 10.48.6 also above (q.v. too for the use of capio). Contrast Marquardt Prl. p. 307 n. 9 who mistakenly considers eight-seaters the normal size.

14.88 A tray

If you believe a female land-tortoise to be part of us, you are mistaken: we are the male prize of the sea.

le. gustatorium: This appears to have been a tray on which hors d'oeuvres were served; cf. Pliny Ep. 5.6.37 'gustatorium graviorque cena margini (sc. fontis) imponitur', Petr. 34.1 'gustatoria...a choro cantante rapiuntur', and see Marquardt Prl. p.324: 'Die gustatio wurde auf einem eigenen Repositorium, welches gustatorium...heisst, aufgetragen'. The word survives in the above places only, but the same kind of tray is apparently referred to at Petr. 31.9 'in promulsidari asellus erat Corinthius cum bisaccio positus, qui habebat olivas'; cf. CIL X.1598 'promulsidaria argentata'.

Being of turtle-shell, this tray is the cheap counterpart of the luxury tortoise-shell couch at Mart. 14.87. The two objects are additionally linked by both being connected with dinners.

1 cherson: Pliny writes (Nat. 32.32) 'sunt...testudinum genera terrestres, marinae, lutariae et quae in dulci aqua vivunt'. As might be expected, chersos indicates a land-tortoise (as opposed to a turtle); cf. Pliny Nat. 9.38 'sunt et terrestres, quae ob id in operibus chersinae vocantur' (Pliny adds that such tortoises can be found in African deserts, where they live off dew). Chersos survives only at Mart. 14.88: ThLL III.1007.35 s.v. chersos, OLD s.v. chersos.

2 pelagi mascula praeda sumus: Mascula contrasts with femineam (line 1) as pelagi does with cherson.

As well as indicating sex, masculus and femineus were commonly used with connotations of size, femineus suggesting weakness and smallness: see OLD s.v. femineus §3. On the evidence of this epigram, the shells of

land tortoises were apparently considered generally inferior to those of turtles, and in this particular case, there is a contrast between the worst kind of tortoise-shell, and the best kind of turtle-shell.

Pelagus can be used specifically of deep or open sea (OLD s.v. pelagus §1c), and might emphasise here that these turtles are as far from terrestrial as possible. That there were turtles and turtles, and that some turtles had better shells than others, is suggested again at Juv. 11.93-5: 'nemo inter curas et seria duxit habendum, / qualis in Oceani fluctu testudo nataret, / clarum Troiugenis factura et nobile fulcrum'.

Praeda is frequently used of animals caught in the hunt. See generally OLD s.v. praeda §2a. At Plaut. Rud. 909 it is used of fish.

14.89 A citron table

Accept the rich trees, the gifts of Atlas. He who gives gold gifts gives lesser ones.

le. mensa citrea: mens citrea C^a: mensae citreae B^a. A singular lemma is here to be preferred given mensa acerna at Mart. 14.90; cf. the case for ferulae at Mart. 14.80. le. above. The plural no doubt derives from 'felices...silvas'.

For the tremendous value of the citron tree, see Mart. 14.3.2 n. above and at line 2 below. On citron tables in general, see Blümner Priv. p.124, Tech. II pp.273 ff., Friedländer SG. II p.203, R.E. XV.943.20 ff. s.v. mensa [gr. Krusel, D-S III(1) p.1726 col. 1 s.v. mensa [A. de Ridder], Coleman at Stat. Sily. 4.2.38-9. See also Richter p.149. For furniture as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.85. le. n. above.

1 felices...silvas: Silva can be used poetically in the plural of trees (OLD s.v. silva §3b) rather than clusters of trees (OLD s.v. silva §1). M. means, of course, the timber of these trees; cf. the more common use of silva to refer to a tree's leaves or branches (OLD s.v. silva §3a).

Felix is commonly used of trees which are productive, whether in terms of fruit or branches: ThLL VI(1).435.76 ff. s.v. felix [Amman]; cf. Stat. Silv. 5.2.138-9 'an Solymum cinerem palmetaque capta subibis/ non sibi felicis silvas ponentis Idymes?'. Since the citron tree did not often grow large enough for making tables (see Mart. 14.3.2 n. above), felix perhaps suggests here more the value/ quality of produce than the quantity; cf. Mart. 8.50(51).5-6 'vera minus flavo radiant electra metallo/ et niveum felix pustula vincit ebur'.

Atlantica munera: The citron tree grew in Libya or Mauretania on the slopes of Mount Atlas: cf. Lucan 10.144, Mart. 2.43.9, 9.22.5 (these passages are quoted at Mart. 14.91.1e.), 12.66.6 'et Maurusiaci pondera rara citri'; see Friedländer SG. II p.203.

For this use of munus, cf. Ovid Met. 12.578 'repetito munere Bacchi' (i.e. wine) with Bömer, 10.74 'Cereris sine munere' (i.e. bread), Sil. 14.663-4 'munera Rubri...ponti' (i.e. pearls). Parallels with an adjective rather than the genitive of a proper noun are scarce; cf., however, Verg. G. 3.527 'Massica Bacchi munera'.

2 aurea qui dederit dona, minora dedit: Cicero paid 500 000 sesterces for a citron table. Later, prices of up to 1 300 000 were paid: see Pliny Nat. 13.92, who records details of a number of sales. Eros weeps at Mart. 10.80 because he cannot afford such luxuries as citron tables.

14.90 A maple table

Indeed I do not have a wavy grain, nor am I the daughter of a Moorish wood, but my timbers too know happy banquets.

le. mensa acerna: Maple tables were cheap (Bömer at Ovid Met. 12.254), certainly in comparison with the citron of Mart. 14.89 (Pliny Nat. 16.66). Concerning maple wood in general, see Blümner Tech. II p.246, Richter p.149: there were two chief varieties. One, from Northern Italy, was remarkable for its light colour, the other, evidently our 'curly' maple, was marked in 'blotches running in wavy lines' (Pliny loc. cit.) and took its name from the peacock, whose tail it resembled. 'Non sum crispa' (line 1) might indicate that this epigram's table was made of the pale variety since by implication it did not have a wavy grain. As well as tables, maple was used for beds.

The maple table at Hor. Serm. 2.8.10 also bears a good spread: other epigrams which claim their P gifts to equal those of their R counterparts by providing equally good service are Mart. 14.62 and 104.

For furniture as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.85. le. n. above.

1 crispa: For the characteristic wavy grain of citron wood, see Mart. 14.85. le. n. It contributed not a little to the wood's value (cf. Pliny Nat. 13.96 f.).

Crispus is used of the grain of marble at Pliny Nat. 36.55.

nec silvae filia Maurae: On the origins of citron wood, see at Mart. 14.89.1 Atlantica munera.

With silvae filia, cf. Lycophron 24, A.L. 281.54, Hor. Carm. 1.14.12 'silvae filia nobilis' and see N-H ad loc., who cite other examples

(albeit referring to ships). The grandness of expression accords with the expense of citron wood tables.

2 lautas...dapes: Lautus is frequently used of food and drink: Mart. 11.31.20 with Kay, 12.48.5, Stat. Silv. 1.6.32-3 'hi panaria candidasque mappas/ subvectant epulasque lautiores', Pliny Nat. 14.92 (of wine). It is often used ironically by Encolpius of Trimalchio's cena, e.g. at Petr. 32.1, 34.8.

et mea ligna: Lignum is sometimes used with depreciatory force (OLD s.v. lignum §3), as perhaps here - to make the point that although the table is mere maple, it still supports a good meal (the positioning of ligna between lautas and dapes is telling). In any event, 'mea ligna' contrasts with the grandeur of 'silvae filia Maurae'.

14.91 Ivory tusks

These which bear the massive bodies of bulls - do you ask whether they can support Libyan beams?

le. dentes eborei: This is another instance where without the lemma the epigram would be difficult to understand (see Mart. 14.2.3 n.).

Ivory was used in particular for the legs of citron tables, contrasting attractively with the dark wood; cf. Luc. 10.144 f. 'dentibus hic niveis sectos Atlantide silva/ imposuere orbes', Mart. 2.43.9 'tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbis', 9.22.5 'ut Mauri Libycis centum stent dentibus orbes', 9.59.7-8, 10.98.6 'aut citrum vetus Indicosque dentes', Stat. Silv. 3.3.94-5, 4.2.38 with Coleman ad loc.; see Blümner Priv. p.125 and n.13, R.E. V.2361.2 ff. s.v. Elfenbein

[Blümner].

Ivory was valuable in its own right. That intended for making citron table legs would have been especially fine. For the value of citron tables, see Mart. 14.3.2 n., 89.2 n.

1 grandia taurorum portant qui corpora: At Mart. 14.52 (q.v. ad loc.), reference is made to duels between bulls and rhinoceroses. Here bulls are matched with elephants; cf. Sp. 19:

qui modo per totam flammis stimulatus harenam
sustulerat raptas taurus in astra pilas,
occubuit tandem cornuto iadoret petitus,
dum facilem tolli sic elephanta putat.

Lucius and Marcus Lucullus, aediles in 79 B.C., showed elephants fighting bulls (Pliny Nat. 8.19). Dio mentions elephants in spectacles at 66.25.1 γέρανόν τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐμαχέσαντο καὶ ἐλέφαντες τέσσαρες.

Portant, meaning 'they carry' contrasts with sustinuisse 'to have held up'. Carrying demands greater strength and effort than simply supporting.

Corpus is possibly used here meaning 'corpse' (for this meaning, see OLD s.v. corpus §3): dead weight is more difficult to carry. For grandis meaning 'heavy', cf. Ovid Met. 7.625 'grande onus exiguo formicas ore gerentes'. Connotations of weight seem more relevant than size, but size (see OLD s.v. grandis §2a) cannot be ruled out here. Translating 'massive' reflects both senses.

2 Libycas...trabes: On the North African origins of citron wood, see Mart. 14.89.1 n. above and the quotations at the lemma above.

Trabs apparently survives here only of a table-top. Usually it is used

of large structures, e.g. a roof, ship or battering ram (the torch at Sen. Herc.Fur. 103, clubs at Stat. Theb. 1.621 and javelin at Theb. 5.566 occur in heroic or super-human contexts). The citron table-top was, however, made from the cross-section of a tree trunk, and for tree trunks, trabs is often used (OLD s.v. trabs §1).

14.92 A five foot rule

A piece of oak marked with notches and ending in a sharp point is often accustomed to betray the frauds of a contractor.

le. quinquepedal: It is surprising that Dilke does not mention M's quinquepedal (O.A.W.Dilke, The Roman Land Surveyors, Newton Abbott (Devon) 1971): the standard measure for distances was the decempeda (cf. decempedator of a land-surveyor at Cic. Phil. 13.37), while the unit for measuring roads was the passus, a pace or double step; the decempeda measured two paces of five feet each. While the word quinquepedal survives here alone (although cf. Grom. p.340.24 Lachmann 'terminus...quinquepedalis'), measures of one passus, i.e. half a decempeda, must have been common. (B^A's quinquepeda is possibly correct, given decempeda.)

Petr. 56.9 pedale (taken at face value, i.e. referring to a foot rule, not a solea) suggests that measuring rods might have been common apophoreta. The connection between a measuring rod and ivory tusks is hard to discern, unless it be trabes (Mart. 14.91.2). Nevertheless, it is clear that ivory tusks would have cost more.

1 puncta notis illex: Being a hard wood, oak is well suited for measures. Marks or notches are frequently notae. Puncta survives in a participial

sense here only for certain: editors have rejected the variant reading at Luc. 9.713-4 'pluribus ille notis variatam tinguitur alvum, / quam parvis pictus (Vat.3284 (F), Isid. Orig. 12.4.30: punctus MP) maculis Thebanus ophites'). Substantival usage is, however, common, e.g. of marks on a scale (OLD s.v. punctum §3c; cf. Pers. 5.100-101 'certo conpescere puncto/ nescius examen'). At Suet. Nero 30.3, it refers to marks on a dice.

et acuta cuspidata clusa: Measuring rods had tapered metal end-pieces to allow their accurate alignment with other rods of the same dimensions (Dilke op. cit. p.73). Those end-pieces which survive are marked in inches of the pes monetalis and half inches/ finger breadths.

For clusa thus, denoting the end of a spatial entity, cf. Man. 1.274 'quos (sc. Pisces) Aries tangit cludentis ultima signa', and see OLD s.v. claudio §10cβ. The usage is rare and not appreciated by Hey at ThLL III.1304.53.

2 saepe redemptoris prodere furta solet: The redemptor was someone who undertook a project under contract, e.g. some building work (see R.E. IA.447.37 ff. s.v. redemptor [R.Leonhard]; cf. Cic. Div. 2.47). This redemptor is evidently fraudulent, charging the amount contracted for, but without building to the agreed specifications or working to the agreed terms. (As to what his project is, one can but guess.)

For prodere meaning 'betray' or 'show up', cf. e.g. Ovid Met. 2.447 'heu quam difficile est crimen non prodere vultu!'.

Dishonesty and corruption in the regulation of the building industry is apparent from Pliny's comments on the Nicomedean (Epp. 10.37-8 with

Sherwin-White, pp. 615-6). Legal provisions governing the awarding of job contracts can be found e.g. at dig. 19.2.22 §2, 24, 36, 51 §1.

14.93-121:

Mohler remarks (p.253) that by natural extension of the principle that allowed guests to take food home from dinner parties, it was apparently common for hosts to give them the cups and other utensils which they had used during the banquet. Among the references he gives (n.38) are two inscriptions on late vascula vitrea which suggest that they might have been given to guests as souvenirs of specific banquets: CIL XV.7043 'cena benanti et Claudiani qui se coronaberin biban' (cena Vinanti et Claudiani: qui se coronaberint bibant), and less conclusively, *ibid.* 7028 'Gelasia Lecori Comasia piete zesete multis annis vivatis' (Gelasia, Lycori, Comasia, πίετε ζήστε (i.e. if you drink, you will live) multis annis (abl. of duration) vivatis).

Other Martialian apophoreta possibly to be associated with cups and utensils given in this way at feasts are e.g. 22 dentiscalpium, 85 lectus pavoninus, 87 stibadia, 88 gustatorium, 89-90 mensa citrea and mensa acerna.

Acetabula (small cups) occur amongst other dinner-ware apophoreta at Petr. 56.8, but not in Martial.

14.93 Antique cups

The glory of these is not recent, nor of my engraving tool. Mentor first drank from these cups while he made them.

le. pocula archetypa: For pocula, see Hilgers pp.255 ff. Poculum is a general name for a drinking cup, having no bearing on the cup's shape or

material: Blümner Priv. p.405 and n.10.

Where M. uses archetypa at Mart. 8.34.1 'archetypum Myos argentum te dicis habere./quod sine te factum est hoc magis archetypum est?', the Loeb remarks that the epigram was perhaps addressed to a silver-smith in the habit of faking his antiques: "'You may not have faked this', says M., 'but that does not prove it genuine'". While principally meaning 'genuine' at Mart. 8.34.1 (cf. the ironic usage at Mart. 12.69.2), the meaning 'ancient' is perhaps foremost here: 'non est ista recens'; cf. Mart. 8.6.1. The question of genuineness nonetheless does arise - see below. At 7.11.4, M. uses 'archetypas...nugas' of his own texts, personally corrected. In general, see R.E. II.460.59 s.v. ἀρχέτυπον [Dziatzkol].

Three factors indicate this gift's value: age, Mentor's manufacture (for the value of his work, see below, Mayor at Juv. 8.104), and the cups' almost certainly being silver (for silver pocula, see Hilgers Tafel 4.25, 26). Further indication comes from the RP sequence: see Intro. 'Order' and the notes on the surrounding epigrams.

Silverware gifts were common: cf. Mart. 14.97 below q.v. ad loc., 120, 4.88.3, 7.53.11-12, 8.71, 10.15(14).8. (The last does not refer to Saturnalian gifts specifically.) Poor men are forbidden to give silver by Kronosolon: Lucian Sat. 16. Gold, silver and jewelled pocula were distributed by Verus (S.H.A. Ver. 5.).

1 non est ista recens nec nostri gloria caeli: Ista and gloria go together. Gloria of an art work occurs also at Aetna 598 'gloria viva Myronis', describing a cow.

Caeli is ambiguous, meaning either 'engraving tool' (cf. Loeb), i.e. 'I, who give these cups, did not make them myself', nostri being poetic plural, or 'heaven', i.e. 'These cups come not from under Roman (<nostri> skies but Greek, being of Mentor's manufacture' (see OLD s.v. caelum² §7b, L-S s.v. 2 caelum IIA for this latter sense of caelum). The former interpretation is most likely.

Amongst the pittacia at Petr. 56.7-10 we find argentum sceleratum (Petr. 56.8). Ullman explains (p.347) that argentum purum is plain silver and that sceleratum therefore means caelatum. If this is so, indications are that engraved objects were common Saturnalian gifts (otherwise the Petronian pun would not be appreciated). Mart. 14.93 begins a series of three epigrams describing engraved vessels, the gold vessel at 14.95 being the most impressive.

Hilgers, p.261, collects references to chased pocula. See too D-S I(2) pp.778 ff. s.v. caelatura [E.Sagliol], esp. p.801 col. 2 (note p.791 f. for chisels etc.). Friedländer, SG. II p.205 f., remarks on the value of chased silver. For engravers and decorators of vessels, see Blümner Priv. p.408.

2 primus in his Mentor, dum facit illa, bibit: His and illa refer to the cups, whereas line 1 refers to the glory of making them.

Mentor was a much celebrated silversmith and chaser: Mart. 3.40(41).1 f. 'inserta phialae Mentor's manu ducta/ lacerta vivit et timetur argentum' testifies to his skill; cf. Mart. 4.39.5. Given his celebrity and the high standard of his work, his pieces became collectors' items: see Kay at Mart. 11.11.5, Kl.P. 3.1227.33 s.v. Mentor [W.H.Gross], R.E. XV.966.14 ff. s.v. Mentor [Lippold], D-S II(2) p.804 and n. 247 s.v.

caelatura [E. Sagliol]; cf. Mart. 9.59.16 'pocula Mentorea nobilitata manu', Prop. 1.14.1-2 'tu licet...Mentoreo vina bibas opere', Cic. Ver. 4.38 'pocula...Mentoris manu summo artificio facta'. For collectors' items in general, see Marquardt Prl. p.680.

Friedländer notes at Mart. 3.41 that Mentor's name came to be abused as art forgeries, especially in precious metals, became more widespread. This would account for the protestations of age and denial of personal/Roman manufacture in line 1.

in his...bibit: M. is here stressing the cups' authenticity: the first person to drink from them was Mentor and he did so so early that the cups were not yet finished.

In, where one would expect ex, is commonly used in the context of drinking: see ThLL VII(1).774.36 ff. s.v. in [Bulhart], OLD s.v. in §24f.; cf. Sen. Ag. 878 'merum...in auro veteris Assaraci trahunt' (Tarrant ad loc. glosses 'in poculis ex auro factis'), Thy. 453, Pliny Nat. 30.92, Phaedr. 1.25.3 f. 'canes currentes bibere in Nilo flumine...traditum est', Mart. 14.110.1 below.

14.94 Unbreakable cups

We are common embossed cups of stout glass and our fine-ware is not cracked by hot water.

le. calices audaces: For calices, see Hilgers pp. 44, 130 f. and Tafel 1: although we know about the Greek κύλιξ, there is some uncertainty, for all its related name, about the Latin calix. See too Blümner Priv. p.405 and Marquardt Prl. p.652. The calix features in a list of Saturnalian gifts at Mart. 7.53.4.

For glass cups (cf. line 1) such as these here, cf. Mart. 12.74, esp.

line 3:

dum tibi Niliacus portat crystalla cataplas,
 accipe de circo pocula Flaminio.
 hi magis audaces, an sunt qui talia mittunt
 munera? sed gemmis vilibus usus inest:
 nullum sollicitant haec, Flacce, toreumata furem
 et nimium calidis non vitiantur aquis.
 quid quod securo potat conviva ministro
 et casum tremulae non timuere manus?
 hoc quoque non nihil est, quod propinabis in istis,
 frangendus fuerit si tibi, Flacce, calix.

This clearly establishes them as presents of the poor man.

Glass did not become cheap until the development of blowing techniques and the expansion of glass manufacture through Italy and the provinces in the 1st Century A.D. See OCD² s.v. 'glass', Blümner Priv. p.409, Marquardt Prl. p.749 f., Harden (1969) p.66, (1956) pp.322 ff., (1987) pp. 1-2, Price pp.111, 113-4. Thereafter, however, it largely replaced pottery for domestic use and funeral purposes (i.e. for urns). According to Strabo (16.2.25), a cheap glass cost an as (χαλκός).

Used to describe cheap glass, audax apparently survives only in Martial: ThLL II.1247.23 ff. s.v. audax [Hay], glossing 'in quibus aliquid audeas'.

1 plebeia toreumata: On toreumata (from τορεύειν; note here the synizesis, also at Mart. 14.101.2), see Hilgers pp.24 ff. It refers to engraved/ embossed work, usually in valuable materials. Like gemma, however (line 2, q.v. ad loc.), toreumata here refers ironically to cheap ware (the juxtaposition of plebeia, usually used in depreciatory sense (OLD s.v. plebeia 83) is calculated); cf. Mart. 12.74.5.

audacis...vitri: audaces B^a, fort. recte according to Salmasius and Lindsay. It seems more likely that B^a derives its reading from the lemma, and that a chiastic arrangement of noun-adjective is correct.

2 nostra neque ardentis gemma feritur aqua: Cf. Mart. 12.74.6 quoted above. Romans mixed hot water with wine (see Mart. 14.105 below), which cracked delicate glass.

nostra gemma: Gemma usually refers via metonymy to a cup of some expensive material or a cup decorated with expensive stones: Hilgers p.27 f., 190, Kay at Mart. 11.11.5 (cf. Luc. 10.160 'gemmaeque capaces', Ovid Met. 8.573 'in gemma posuere merum' and Bömer ad loc.). See too Mart. 14.108 calices gemmati, 110.1. It is used humorously here, as at Mart. 12.74.4, of cheap vessels.

neque...feritur: ThLL VI(1).514.22 s.v. ferio [Bonnier] compares Ovid Ars 1.528 'qua brevis aequoreis Dia feritur aquis' ('where little Dia is lashed by the ocean waves'), Trist. 1.11.40 'caeruleis charta feritur aquis'. But these parallels do not square with neque: this glass is lashed by hot water, whenever it is filled. The point is that it is not fractured in the process. The OLD, s.v. ferio §3c, is surely right to take M's usage to mean 'to break/ destroy (things)', although it can offer no parallels.

C^a's feretur inspired Heinsius to teretur, but 'wearing away' is out of keeping with the sense: the cracking effect of hot water would be sudden.

neque: Friedländer (cf. Itali) wondered about nec, contrary to the MSS (= B^aC^a): M. generally uses nec before vocalic words or those beginning with h. (Friedländer refers (at Mart. 1.64.4) to Renn, 'Beiträge zur Martial', Gymnasium 17(1881), pp.442-4, a reference I have not been able to check). Compare Heraeus, who notes at Mart. 7.14.7 that neque plus vowel occurs in M. only four times (as 'neque enim') in the hexameter (1.92.11, 3.16.3, 7.51.11, 11.58.7), and only here in the pentameter. For the weight of MSS unanimity, however, see Intro. 'Text' above.

14.95 A chased golden bowl

Although, being noble, I am red with Callaican metal, I glory more in my craftsmanship - for this was the work of Mys .

C^a is the only witness for poems 95 and 96: B^a omits them thanks to the similar lemmata of 94 and 96, while, as noted above, A^a lacks poems 83-106.

le. phiala aurea caelata: The phiala was a broad and shallow drinking vessel: see Hilgers pp.74, 250 ff. and Tafel 1, Marquardt Prl. pp. 74 and 651. Note also R.E. XIX.2059.50 ff. s.v. phiala [G.Hölscher]. A phiala is given as a gift again at Mart. 8.33.2, while gold cups were distributed as apophoreta by Verus: S.H.A. Ver. 5.

Chased gold plate was uncommon (see R.E. VIA.1754.51 ff. s.v. Toreutik [G.Lippold]). This rich man's gift derives its value more from its decoration (which was not by just any artist) than from its substance.

1 Callaico...metallo: Callaicia, modern day Galicia, is in N.W. Spain. For Callaician gold, cf. also Mart. 4.39.7, 10.17(16).3 'accipe

Callaicis quidquid fodit Astur in arvis', Sil. 2.602 'Callaico...auro', 10.118 'Callaici...metalli', 2.397. Spanish gold is mentioned too at Mart. 7.88.7, 10.96.3, 12.3.3, 18.9, 57.9, 14.99.2 (q.v. ad loc.).

The MS offers gallaico; cf. Mart. 4.39.7 gallanico B^a: callaino C^a, 10.17.3 gallaciis corr. gallaicis ut vid. C^a (gallas EXV: gallaciis A). Given the modern Galicia, the temptation is to spell with a G, but C^a's stand at Mart. 4.39.7 might signal the truth. I therefore follow earlier editors. For the similarity in sound of c and g (and the confusion which sometimes resulted), cf. Quint. Inst. 1.5.12 and see ThLL III.1.33 ff. s.vv. 'c littera tertia'.

rubeam: André, Couleur p. 77, cites this epigram in his discussion of the colour red. That the Ancients thought of gold as reddish is shown at Pliny Nat. 33.113; cf. Verg. A. 9.50 'cristaque tegit galea aurea rubra'.

Generosa is applied to metals also at Laus. Pis. 225 'abditā...generosi vena metalli'; cf. Verg. A. 10.174 'insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis'.

2: With glorior, cf. gloria at Mart. 14.93.1. Mentor there compares here with Mys, a famous silver-smith and engraver from the 4th Century B.C. (Myos iste Ald.²: meos isit ut vid. cod. (meus iste X)); see R.E. XVI.1185.24 ff. s.v. Mys [G.Lippold]; cf. Mart. 8.50(51).1 'docti Myos', 8.34.1 quoted at Mart. 14.93.1e. n., Pliny Nat. 33.155, Paus. 1.28.2, Athen. 11.782b.

At Mart. 9.59.16, the value of vessels also depends more on their maker's craftsmanship (i.e. Mentor's) than their material.

14.96 Vatinian cups

Accept a cup, the cheap monument of the cobbler Vatinus - although his nose was longer.

le. calices Vatinii: For calices, see at Mart. 14.94.1e. above. Vatinus of Beneventum was a buffoon and delator in Nero's time (see Friedländer SG. I p.85) whose name was adopted for the cheap calices said to be made in imitation of him; cf. Mart. 10.3.3-4 'quae sulphurato nolit emptamentum/ Vatiniorum proxenata fractorum'. At Juv. 5.46 ff. 'tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem/ siccabis calicem nasorum quattuor ac iam/ quassatum et rupto poscentem sulpura vitro', Courtney suggests that faces were moulded round the glass with long noses like Vatinus'.

It would seem that no calices Vatinii have survived. Cf., however, the glass 'head flasks' illustrated in Harden (1987) (figs 93, 95, 96). The modern equivalent of these calices and head flasks is perhaps the Toby jug.

Vatinus himself is described at Tac. Ann. 15.34 'ubi (i.e. at Beneventum, A.D. 62) gladiatorium munus a Vatinio celebre edebatur. Vatinus inter foedissima eius aulae ostenta fuit, sutrinae tabernae alumnus, corpore detorto, facetiis scurrilibus; primo in contumelias assumptus, dehinc optimi cuiusque criminatione eo usque valuit ut gratis pecunia vi nocendi etiam malos praemineret'; other references are Hist. 1.37, Dial. 11.2, Dio Cass. 62.15.1.

C^A (= cod.) reads Vatini, possibly from line 1 where the shortened form is metrically necessary.

1 vilis...monimenta: Monuments are not meant to be cheap; but this one is appropriate to the person it celebrates (cf. vilis of mean/ base people or lives: Catul. 72.6; see L-S s.v. vilis §IIA, OLD s.v. vilis §3).

For the orthography of monimenta, see Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.34. The plural is initially a little surprising given calicem, but is metrically necessary; for a similar apposition, cf. Verg. A. 6. 26 'Minotaurus inest, Veneris monimenta nefandae' with Austin and Norden ad loc. Seeing that the lemma is plural, a possibility might be to change calicem to calices. Numerical inconsistency between lemma and epigram is common, however (see at Mart. 14.21.le. above), and emendation is therefore hard to justify.

sutoris Vatini: Cf Tac. Ann. 15.34 quoted above.

2 sed nasus longior ille fuit: i.e. these cups do not do Vatinius justice. A long nose was a fault, especially in women: Hor. Serm. 1.2.93 'depugis, nasuta, brevi latere ac pede longo est'. Presumably Ovid's ancestors had noses such as would attract comment; hence 'Naso'.

14.97 Dishes inlaid with gold

Do not demean with a small mullet large dishes inlaid with gold: it ought to weigh at least two pounds.

le. lances chrysendetae: The word chrysendeta, basically adjectival, was also used substantively: see line 1. Outside M., it appears in classical Latin possibly at CIL XII.3058. From late Antiquity, there is Isid. Orig. 20.4.8: 'chrysendeta vasa deaurata. Graecum est'. For Greek

usage, see Philemo PCG 73.

Chrysendetae seem to have been silver dishes with gold edges/ inlay: see Hilgers p.145, R.E. III.2494.63 ff. s.v. chrysendeta [Maul, Marquardt Prl. p.697. Whenever M. mentions them (e.g. 2.43.11 'inmodici tibi flava tegunt chrysendeta mulli', 2.53.5, 6.94.1, 11.29.7), it is in the context of wealth and ostentation. (For extravagance in silver plate, see Friedländer SG. II pp. 205-6, 208.)

The lanx was a serving dish, usually fine and of precious metal (those at Mart. 4.15.4 are very valuable), but sometimes also of clay or glass. Although lances were often silver, no comparable references to lances with gold decoration survive: Hilgers p.209 (cf. possibly, however, Athen. 4.129b πίναξ ἀργυροῦς ἐπὶ πάχος οὐκ ὀλίγον πέριχρυσος). Of the vessel's shape, we know almost nothing: see Hilgers pp.65 ff. It was commonly used for fish, but by no means exclusively: Hilgers p.206. For further general discussion, see R.E. XII.695.63 ff. s.v. lanx [K.Schneider].

Lances appear to have been common Saturnalian presents: Mart. 7.72.4, 10.29.1; cf. the carvers and platters distributed as gifts by Verus: S.H.A. Ver. 5.

1 parvo...mullo: Parvo contrasts with grandia: a large expensive platter deserves a large expensive fish.

The mullet in question is the red variety: see D'Arcy Thompson Fishes pp. 264 ff., who discusses on p.266 the high prices these fish fetched; see too Marquardt Prl. p.434, Kay at Mart. 11.49(50).9, André Alimentation p.100; cf. Mart. 10.31.3 (a 4lb mullet for 1200 sesterces), 2.43.11 cited above. Mart. 3.45.5 places a 2lb mullet on a par with

delicacies such as mushrooms, oysters and turbot. On how this fish was best cooked, Apicius is silent. Friedländer notes at Mart. 13.79 that they were boiled alive in front of the guests.

Mayor remarks at Juv. 4.15 that 'The mullet was esteemed in proportion to its size' (cf. Courtney who goes into some detail). He cites Pliny Nat. 9.64 'ex reliqua nobilitate et gratia maximo est et copia mullis, sicut magnitudo modica: binasque libras ponderis raro admodum exsuperant, nec in vivariis piscinisque crescunt', on which Macrobius remarks (Sat. 3.16.9) 'Asinius Celer, vir consularis, ut idem Sannonicus refert, mullum unum septem milibus nummum mercatus est. in qua re luxuriam illius saeculi eo magis licet aestimare, quod Plinius Secundus temporibus suis negat facile mullum repertum qui duas pondo libras excederet: at nunc et maioris ponderis passim videmus et pretia haec insana nescimus'.

ne viola: The construction ne with imperative is very rare but not unknown in prose: see H-Sz II p.340; note Livy 3.2.9 'ne timete', Sen. Con. 1.2.5 'ne metue', Dial. 2.19.4 'ne repugnat'. In poetry, however, it is common enough: cf. e.g. Verg. A. 2.48 'equo ne credite, Teucri'. In spite of Mart. 14.98.1 'ne spernas' and 13.66.1 'ne violes teneras periuro dente columbas', and in spite of the fact that ne with imperative is used chiefly of feelings rather than actions (Austin at Verg. loc. cit.), Heraeus is therefore probably wrong to contemplate 'ne violes' here, extrapolating from B^A's viola.

For this use of violo, cf. Mart. 1.53.6 'sic Arretinae violent crystallina testae'. The expression is humorously hyperbolic.

2 libras...duas: See at 'parvo...mullo' above.

Ut minimum seems to survive in M. alone; cf. 'cum minimum', OLD s.v. minimum S2; contrast Mart. 10.11.5-6 '"donavi...amico.../...lotam, ut multum, terve quaterve togam"', Juv. 7.186-7 'sestertia...ut multum duo sufficient'.

Habere is usual of weight; cf. e.g. Ovid Med. 71 'utraque sex habeant aequo discrimine libras'.

14.98 Arretine vases

We advise that you do not despise Arretine vases unduly: Porsena luxuriated in Tuscan earthenware.

le. vasa Arretina: Arretium (modern Arezzo) was one of the chief towns in Etruria; hence Tuscis (line 2); cf. Livy 9.37.12. It was known for its pottery: cf. Pliny Nat. 35.160, Isid. Orig. 20.4.5 'Arretina vasa ex Arretio municipio Italiae dicuntur, ubi fiunt'; see R.E. II.1228.13 ff. s.v. Arretium [Hülse], Blümner Tech. II p.67. The town became one of the centres of Italian Samian manufacture during the 1st Century B.C. Most productive in the period c.30 B.C. - A.D. 20, the industry then lost ground to the Gallic Samian producers. Arretine ware was usually matt red (cf. Isid. Orig. 20.4.5), in contrast to the Gallic Samian gloss, and the vessels were more delicate. Decoration was usually of extremely high quality.

Arretine ware is here a poor man's gift in contrast with the lances chrysendetae of Mart. 14.97 (cf. Mart. 1.53.6 'sic Arretinae violant crystallina testae' with Howell ad loc.). 'Nimis ne spernas', line 1,

reveals that it was not altogether despicable; and of course it was acceptable to Porsena; for similar claims to value by association, cf. Mart. 14.178.2 and see Mart. 14.106, 171.le. nn.

Regarding Arretine ware in general, see D-S V p.661 col. 2 ff. s.v. vasa [Ch.Dugas, E.Potier], noting esp. figs 7336-7, Guy de la Bédoyère, Samian ware, Aylesbury (Shire Archaeology) 1988, p.9, Marquardt Prl. p.660. Illustrations can be found in George H.Chase, Catalogue of Arretine Pottery, Boston-New York 1916.

2: Porsena was possibly an Etruscan title interpreted by the Romans as a chieftain's personal name (cf. the use by Livy and others of lucumo which they took as a personal name rather than an Etruscan term for 'king': Livy 1.34.1 ff., 5.33.3, Cic. Rep. 2.14). The most famous Porsena was that of Clusium whose help was summoned by the exiled Tarquinius Superbus and who besieged Rome in vain (see Livy 2.9.1 ff.).

Fictilis often indicates old world frugality (cf. Tib. 1.1.37 ff.: 'dona nec e puris spernite (cf. spernas, line 1) fictilibus -/ fictilia antiquus primum sibi fecit agrestis/ pocula, de facili composuitque luto -'. As noted above, however, Arretine ware was not necessarily intrinsically worthless. Consequently there is perhaps an ironic tension in M's choice of vocabulary.

On polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Intro. 'Metre'.

14.99 A basket

A barbarian basket, I have come from the painted Britons; but Rome already prefers to call me her own.

le.: Glossaries etc aside, bascauda survives only here and at Juv. 12.46-7 'adde et bascaudas et mille escaria, multum/ caelati, biberat quo callidus emptor Olynthi', at which the scholiast comments 'vasa, ubi calices lavantur': see Holder Altcelt I s.v. bascauda, ThLL II.1759.82 ff. s.v. bascauda [Ihm], Hilgers p.120. Although clearly a linguistic ancestor of the English 'basket', it is not at all clear that the word indicates the wicker-work container of today. Witness the Juvenalian scholion, followed by Hilgers loc. cit. and Blumner Priv. p.158; cf. CGL V.616.24 'bascaudae sunt concae aureae, IV.24.23, V.592.41. (Contrast D-S I(1) p.677 col. 1 s.v. bascauda [Ch.Morell], L-S s.v. bascauda.)

Whatever the bascauda was, however, it was undoubtedly valuable, being an exotic import. Hence its position here in the RP sequence.

1: Given me (line 2), veni (Itali) is clearly correct (venit cod., i.e. C^A).

Barbara is appropriately used to qualify a loanword. Here, it means merely 'foreign', i.e. non-Greek or Roman: there are no derogatory overtones. It yields an attractive alliterative jingle with bascauda and Britannis (and also the plosive pictis).

Pictis: The British practice of daubing their bodies with woad made a distinct impression on the Romans. With pictus, cf. caeruleus, Mart. 11.53.1, Sil. 17.416, Sen. Apoc. 12 line 15; also viridis, Ovid Am. 2.16(17).39 and infectus, Prop. 2.18b.1 f. That such words can be used without further elaboration indicates how familiar the practice became to Roman readers. More extended discussion of the custom can be found in

Mela, 3.6.51, and at Caesar Gal. 5.14.3 'omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt quod caeruleum efficit colorem atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna adspectu' (assuming that this passage is not interpolated); cf. Pliny Nat. 22.2.

Reference to woad here emphasizes the foreignness of the Britons and, for all the Romans adopted them, their bascaudae.

2 iam mavolt dicere: Iam suggests that the bascauda is a recent introduction to Rome but that it has been quickly adopted.

On the question of -volt or -vult in M., see Lindsay, Orth. Mart. pp. 32-3. Lindsay always prints volt, except at Mart. 5.56.8, but acknowledges that there is uncertainty in the matter.

Roma contrasts with barbara and Britannis. Britain was of course currently in the news: Ogilvie and Richmond cite numismatic evidence to suggest that Agricola's victory at Mons Graupius took place in A.D. 84 (Cornelii Taciti de vita Agricolae, Oxford 1967, pp.319-20; cf. Plate IV). Coins issued in that year (not common) depict, unusually, a horseman riding down a barbarian while another enemy lies dead on the field. They would therefore be appropriate commemorations of a significant cavalry battle.

14.100 A Panacan bowl(?)

If the land of learned Catullus is not unknown to you, you have drunk Rhaetican wine from my ware.

le. panaca C^a: panaga B^a. The word appears nowhere else (ThLL X.1.186.49 ff. s.v. panaca [Gattil]), and while it has been identified as Celtic

(Holder Altceit II s.v. panaca; cf. the paired bascauda), its origins are not certain: ThLL loc. cit. Presumably a type of drinking vessel is meant, which was produced in the region of Verona. (For the uses to which vessels going by the name testa (line 2) were put, see Hilgers p.286.)

One surmises that this present was cheap: it is earthenware (for the possibility that testa indicates low cost, see Mart. 14.114.1 n. below) and it comes after an expensive gift. As for the values of the gifts which follow, see Intro. 'Order' and see below: 102[LL] is apparently R; 101[LL] is apparently P. 103 is definitely R. Given the value of 103, quite apart from the necessary transposition of 101[LL] and 102[LL], 100 has still to be P for the RP sequence to work.

1 docti...terra Catulli: i.e. Verona. Doctus appears elsewhere of Catullus at e.g. Mart. 1.61.1, 7.99.7, 8.73.8, 14.152.1. Doctrina was one of the qualities particularly valued by the neoterics, dictating their style of composition and their choice of women. But, as Fordyce notes at Catul. 35.16 f., 'from Catullus' time, doctus is almost a technical term for poetic ability' and, although not used e.g. of Tibullus and Propertius (ThLL V(1).1757.2 ff. s.v. doceo [Bulhart]), it is accordingly applied to Horace, Virgil, Calvus and Lucretius. Thus, for all the epithet is frequent of Catullus, it was not regarded as being exclusively his own: Howell at Mart. 1.61.1.

si non ignota est: This is to say 'If you know Verona at all, then you will have drunk from the local product, Panacan ware'.

Of E's ignotast, Lindsay remarks 'fort. recte'; cf. Mart. 14.192.1

where he suggests structast. Since no clear evidence can exist regarding M's orthographical preference in this matter, ignota est is best kept.

2: Raetica vina was of excellent quality and was particularly liked by Augustus: Suet. Aug. 77 'et maxime delectatus est Raetico neque temere interdiu bibit'; cf. Verg. G. 2.96 with Thomas ad loc., Pliny Nat. 14.16, 67, Col. RR. 3.2.27 (on its good grape yield); see Younger p.158, R.E. IA.46.23 ff. s.v. Rhaetia [Haug]. It was produced near Verona at the foot of the Rhaetian Alps and would certainly have been offered to visitors - in Panacan bowls.

14.101 Surrentine cups

Accept these cups born not from cheap dust, but the smooth embossed work of the Surrentine wheel.

le. calices Surrentini: Sorrento was as famous for its earthenware as it was for its wines; cf. Mart. 13.110.1 Surrentinum: 'Surrentina bibis? nec murrina picta nec aurum/ sume: dabunt calices haec tibi vina suos'. On Surrentine earthenware generally, cf. Pliny Nat. 35.160: Surrentine cups are linked with those from Asta and Pollentia, and Saguntum in Spain.

Given the quality of these cups (see further below), a reordering of epigrams is necessary. See Intro. 'Order'.

For references to clay calices, see Hilgers p.133; on calices generally, see Mart. 14.94 le. n. above.

1 non vili...de pulvere: Cf. Mart. 14.114.1 and Blümner Tech. II p.8 n.4 for pulvis of clay. These words declare via litotes that this clay is actually quite expensive.

Natus commonly designates birth or origin: OLD s.v. 59a nascor. Used here together with dust, it recalls, with perhaps intentional irony, the creation of man by potter gods (see at Mart. 14.182.1): the birth of these cups is so great as to rival that of man!

2: leve toreuma: On toreuma, see Mart. 14.94.1 n. above. For earthenware decorated in imitation of metal, see Peacock p.148 (earthenware was also decorated to look like glass: Peacock plate 19, a vase in the Museum of London: ac. no. A27867). Decorations would be carved when the clay was dry enough. More drying would follow, and then firing.

Leve is further testimony to the quality of these cups.

Rota is usual for a potter's wheel: cf. e.g. Hor. Ars 21-22 'amphora coepit/ institui. currente rota cur urceus exit?'

Peacock, pp.28-9, discusses the different kinds of Roman potters' wheel. The most common type was probably the kick-wheel, not much different from its modern equivalent; cf. Alan McWhirr, Roman Crafts and Industries, Aylesbury (Shire Archaeology) 1982, p.40, fig. 12, plate 32; contrast Anne Anderson, Interpreting Pottery, London 1984, pp.185-7.

14.102 Vessels for mushrooms

Although mushrooms have given me so noble a name, I am used - alas, the shame! - for early-harvest cabbages.

le.: Mentioned here only in surviving classical Latin: ThLL II.2066.46 ff. s.v. boletar, the boletar seems to have been a kind of serving dish (Apic. 2.2.10; cf. 5.2.1, 2, 6.2.5 etc). Despite its name, it was not used exclusively for mushrooms (see Hilgers p.121; cf. the coclearia at Mart. 14.121 below). This 'misuse' is part of the boletar's complaint here, but it is further insulted by the type of food for which it is used: cabbage (see below) was a lowly dish.

Despite the plural lemma, a single boletar is indicated, perhaps for metrical reasons, by servio, line 2. For such numerical discrepancies, see Mart. 14.21. le. n. above.

1 tam nobile nomen: Mushrooms, especially the boletus (*Agaricus caesareus*), were a seasonal and expensive delicacy: cf. Juv. 5.146-7 'vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,/ boletus domino', Mart. 13.48 boleti: 'argentum atque aurum facile est laenamque togamque/ mittere: boletos mittere difficile est', Petr. 38.4.

Being the food of kings and princes, mushrooms were naturally cited in the context of suspected assassinations: cf. e.g. Suet. Claud. 44.2.

For the boletus generally, and for its preparation, see Howell at Mart. 1.20.2, R.E. XX.2.1378.1 ff. s.v. Pilze [Steier], André Alimentation pp.43 ff. Apicius 7.15.4-6 gives recipes. It was eaten piping hot (Sen. Nat. 4b.13.10), being served as a gustatio.

August A. Imholtz argues (AJPh 98(1977) p.71 f.) that the word boletus might derive from the Spanish town Boletum (modern Boltána), an area still renowned for mushrooms.

dederint: The perfect subjunctive after cum is perfectly regular, although EA evidently had doubts.

2 prototomis...servio coliculis: Prototomus describes sprouts at Mart. 10.48.16 (in a list of simple courses) and cabbages at Col. RR. 10.369. Cabbage was traditionally a poor man's food: see Juv. 1.134 'caulis miseris atque ignis emendus' with Courtney ad loc.: vegetables were the staple food of Rome's lower classes. It was not very nice: Mart. 13.17 fascis coliculi: 'ne tibi pallentes moveant fastidia caules, / nitrata viridis brassica fiat aqua'.

That the boletar of this epigram contains cabbage suggests that, for all its nominal association with mushrooms and any delusions of grandeur this might inspire, it is a poor man's gift here. A reordering of epigrams is therefore necessary. See Intro. 'Order'.

For polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Intro. 'Metre'.

Servio, literally 'I am subordinate to/ serve as a slave', stresses how demeaning it is for a boletar to contain cabbage sprouts.

pudet heu: Heu can be used in conjunction with a number of exclamations, e.g. Hercle, nefas, edepol; see L-S s.v. heu §1. For pudet heu, see ThLL VI(2).2673.44 ff. s.v. heu [Rubenbauer].

14.103 A strainer using snow

Temper, I advise you, your cups of Setine with our snow: you can stain linen bags with cheaper wine.

le. colum nivarium: To cool wine, the Romans would pour it through ice/

snow-filled sieves or colanders (see Marquardt Prl. p.334, Younger p.205 f.; cf. Mart. 9.90.5). Strainers were also used to clear wine of impurities: Mart. 8.45.3, 12.60.9, Hor. Serm. 2.4.54. This epigram and the next deal with snow-strainers, the linen bag of Mart. 14.104 (cf. Mart. 14.103.2) being the cheaper version. Experiment shows such strainers to have been very efficient. References to them are listed with discussion by K.D.White, Farm Equipment, pp.92-3, 101, Hilgers p.150, D-S I(2).1331 col. 2 ff. s.v. colum [E.Saglio], R.E. IV.590.47 ff. s.v. colum [Mau].

Straining wine through snow was probably unknown in Italy before the 1st Century A.D. - at any rate no Republican literary references survive. Compare 'aqua decocta', i.e. boiled water then cooled with snow, which was reputedly first invented by Nero (see Mart. 14.116.2 n. below).

Given the summer heat of Rome, the appeal of snow-cooled drinks is understandable. As the principles of insulation were well understood (cf. e.g. Plutarch Mor. 691c1 ff.; see Forbes VI pp. 110 ff.), snow was available throughout the year, albeit at a price out of season.

On snow as a coolant, see in general Friedländer SG. II p.142, Blümner Priv. p.402, T.R.Glover, The Challenge of the Greeks, Cambridge 1942, pp.155-159.

1 Setinos...frange trientes: Cf. Mart. 6.86.1 'Setinum dominaeque nives densique trientes', 9.2.5 'incensura nives dominae Setina liquantur'. Setine wine was of good quality and was therefore costly: see Younger pp.202-4, Mayor at Juv. 10.27; cf. Pliny Nat. 14.61 'divus Augustus Setinum praetulit cunctis', Strabo 5.3.6, 10, Mart. 10.13.5, 36.5-6,

74.11; cf. Mart. 11.29.6 on the value of a Setine vineyard. It was therefore worthy of the luxury of being snow-cooled (unlike the wines at Mart. 14.116).

The triens was a drinking vessel holding one third of a sextarius, or the contents of such a vessel: see OLD s.v. triens §3, Hilgers p.290, Blümner Priv. p.403 (who gives other examples of containers named after their capacities).

Pouring wine through snow would dilute as well as cool it. Frango is usual of tempering wine: Cels. 1 praef. 69 'cum vini vim miscendo fregisset', Pliny Nat. 14.138 'sacco frangimus vires (vini)'. Merum (line 2) refers to an undiluted and untempered wine other than Setine which, given its inferior quality (pauperiore), merits a linen bag rather than a quality strainer. The taste of wine, at any rate of Massic, was adversely affected when strained through linen: Hor. Serm. 2.4.54.

For greater detail on the dilution of wine, see Mart. 14.105.1 n. below.

2: As at Mart. 14.12 (q.v. ad loc.), the R epigram refers in disparaging terms to the gift of the P.

pauperiore: 'cheaper'. OLD s.v. pauper §2b cites this instance alone to illustrate the word used with connotations of low cost; cf., however, Paneg. 5.8.4. 'exornavimus vias...paupere...supellectili', and compare the citations at ThLL X(1).846.30 ff. [Suter].

Tingere can simply mean 'make wet' (OLD s.v. tingo §1c) but, assuming red wine, a linen strainer would probably have become imbued; cf. Mart. 9.22.8 'et faciant nigras nostra Falerna nives'.

14.104 A bag for straining snow

Our linen bags too know how to melt snow: water which is colder does not spurt from your strainer.

le. saccus nivarius: Whereas a kind of colander features in Mart. 14.103, here we have a cheaper bag (although contrast Petr. 73.5 where the context is wealthy). Saccus (sacculus at Cic. Fin. 2.23) is the usual word for such bags, used mostly for wine: OLD s.v. saccus §1b; cf. Mart. 2.40.5 saccentur.

This particular saccus is used, it seems, not directly for cooling or diluting wine, nor for collecting impurities (see Mart. 14.103. le., 1 nn. above). Instead, it is apparently used for melting snow (i.e. one would collect the melt-water as it ran from the bottom): see below on attenuare (line 1); cf. possibly Mart. 5.64.1-2 'sextantes, Calliste, duos infunde Falerni, / tu super aestivas, Alcime, solve nives', where it seems that snow is melted and the melt-water used for cooling and diluting the wine.

1 attenuare nives: The OLD s.v. attenuo §1c glosses '(apparently) to clarify', presumably meaning 'rid of impurities' or 'make transparent' (see concise OED s.v. 'clarify'). To clarify snow, one must presumably melt it, and it would have been more helpful to gloss 'to make thin, i.e. to melt'. Accelerated melting is indicated by salit, line 2: water spurts from this saccus, and such an effect is easiest obtained by

pounding or crushing the snow in the bag so that it is forced to liquify quickly.

Lintea nostra (cf. nostra nive, Mart. 14.103.1) contrasts with colo...tuo (line 2); cf. colum and lina in Mart. 14.103.

2 frigidior colo non salit unda tuo: i.e. the cheaper version is not really inferior since it does the job just as well; cf. Mart. 14.62.1 'cornea si non sum, numquid sum fuscior?'. With unda, cf. Mart. 14.118.1 'nivalibus undis'.

14.105 Small jugs for use at table

Cold water will not be lacking, nor hot for those that want it. But don't you play with a fussy thirst.

le. urceoli ministratorii: Ministratorius survives here only meaning 'intended for service' or 'for use at table': ThLL VIII.1016.83 ff. s.v. ministratorius [Bulhart]; cf., however, (the common) ministrator.

The diminutive form urceolus (from urceus) is comparatively common. Classical usages occur also at Col. RR. 12.16.4, 49.2 (container used in preserving fruit), Juv. 3.203 (possession of the poor Cordus), 10.64 (items made from Sejanus' melted down statue), Petr. 95.5 urceolem fictilem (cf. Mart. 14.106 urceus fictilis), CIL IV.10566.6 (in a list of household items). Given the word's generally unfavourable or lowly contexts, that urceolus is used here of an expensive gift is interesting; cf. perhaps Petr. 74.12 'immo puer quoque officiosus urceolum frigidum ad malum eius admovit'.

Late usages include Pomponius' in Justin. dig. 34.2.21 §1 '...id quod

ad praeparationem bibendi comparatum est, veluti...urceoli'.

For the shape of the urceolus, see Hilgers Tafel 4.20.

1 frigida(1) non deerit(2), non deerit(2) calda petenti: One can have hot water or cold, but not something inbetween (line 2). Chiastic structure underlines the choice.

frigida...calda: Both warm and cold water were used for mixing with wine: cf. Juv. 5.63 'quando rogatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister' with Mayor ad loc., who gives numerous parallels to calidae, Athen. 3.123a-e. Frigida follows on from the cool snow of earlier epigrams, calda gives the contrast. (For M's use of the colloquial calda for the more common and literary calida, see Citroni at Mart. 1.11.3.) Paoli plates 30 and 32 depict water heaters; cf. Pompeii A.D.79 plate 159.

Usually wine was mixed with water in the ratio 3:1: Bowie at Mart. 12.60.8 f. Younger nevertheless suspects (p.205) that, unlike the Greeks, many Romans in actual fact did not dilute their wine.

Regarding the dilution of wine, see generally Marquardt Prl. p.332, Blümner Priv. pp.401-2, T.Kleberg, Hôtels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans l'Antiquité Romaine, Uppsala 1957, p.104.

non deerit, non deerit B^a: non desit non deerit C^a. The contracted spelling of deesse etc. is usual in verse (see OLD and L-S s.v. desum init., ThLL V.778.50 ff. s.v. desum [Bögel]). That said, although lacking for this epigram, A^a invariably favours the uncontracted spelling (Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.52), and the readings of B^a and C^a (without the corrupt desit) support the double e here.

2: A morosa sitis is a fastidious thirst, i.e. one requiring water at an exact temperature between hot and cold; cf. Sen. Ep. 78.11 'morusus est stomachus' where the stomach, deprived of its accustomed luxury, becomes petulant, not liking it anyway.

Ludo probably means 'mock', 'banter', 'make sport with', referring to clever requests for something other than the hot or cold water which is on offer to those making reasonable requests (petenti) of their hosts. Parce with infinitive meaning 'refrain from...' is entirely regular in verse: L-S s.v. parco §Bß, OLD s.v. parco §2c.

14.106 An earthenware jug

This red jug with a spreading handle is given to you. The Stoic Fronto was accustomed to seek icy water from it.

le. urceus fictilis: Hilgers identifies two kinds of urceus, distinguished by use (p.83). One variety was used for storage: cf. e.g. CIL XIII.10008.44b 'urceus et mel p(ondo) XXVII'; the other, more frequently referred to, contained water for drinking (as perhaps here; cf. Mart. 14.105 urceoli ministratorii) or washing; see Hilgers' illustrations, 77-80; cf. Pliny Nat. 19.71 '(cucurbitae)...nuper in balnearum usum venere urceorum vice', Charisius GLK 1.77 'balnearis autem urceus'.

Jugs were most commonly earthenware (Hilgers p.300), but gold, silver and bronze were also used. This jug is unglazed earthenware (ruber, line 1), which clearly identifies it as a poor man's gift (see at Mart. 14.114. le. above) in contrast to the finer jugs of Mart. 14.105 (see Mart. 14.98.2 n. above, 171 le. n. below). Presumably, however, assuming

that the Stoic Fronto was famous, for all its cheapness it would claim importance through association with him (see at Mart. 14.98.1e. above). On Fronto, see below.

At Mart. 11.56.1 ff., the urceus helps characterise the poverty of the Stoic Chaeremon:

quod nimium mortem, Chaeremon Stoice, laudas,
vis animum mirer suspiciamque tuum?
hanc tibi virtutem fracta fecit urceus ansa,
et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus,
et teges et cimex et nudi sponda grabati,
et brevis atque eadem nocte dieque toga.

1 hīc: The Loeb misrenders as 'here'; contrast Mart. 14.42 'hīc tibi...'; 14.199 'hīc brevis...' where the Loeb (correctly) translates 'this' in both cases; cf. also Mart. 14.21 'haec tibi erunt...', 14.144 'haec tibi sorte datur...', 14.150 etc. Where hīc means 'this', the i is in actual fact short, but is lengthened by tacit acknowledgement of consonantal doubling, i.e. hicc: see K-S I p.599.

panda...urceus ansa: Not all jugs had handles: Hilgers p.300 citing CIL XIII.10008.44. But that such a handle was called an ansa is certain (cf. Mart. 11.56.3 quoted above), but the reading panda (Itali: pansa C^A: laxa B^A: deest A^A) is less so: Heraeus dismisses it as 'vix aptum' (perhaps unjustly: see below), adopting pansa. Laxa he takes as a gloss. (It can be used of openings: OLD s.v. laxus s5, but does not seem appropriate here.)

That pansa might have arisen influenced by ansa seems very possible (as even Heraeus acknowledges). The two words combine in an unattractive jingle. Pansa is rare, being used elsewhere of stretched out limbs or

items of clothing.

Pandus (see OLD s.v. pandus §1a-b) can mean 'spread in a round curve', with extremities either upturned (i.e. U) or downturned. That it can also mean 'curved vertically' does not seem impossible: note Ovid Met. 10.713 of a boar's tusks.

Stoicus...Fronto is otherwise unknown: see W.S.Teuffel, History of Roman Literature II revised Ludwig Schwabe and transl. G.C.W.Warr, London 1892, §329 and note 3. Perhaps he was famed for his eager pursuit of Cynic simplicity. Compare Zeno, for instance, who 'wore the τρίβων, followed the frugal cynic diet, drank cold water' (Dudley p.98). Alternatively, and perhaps more probably (see below on hoc), he might have been renowned for the way in which he endured his austere lot in life. Although some Stoics rejected the ascetism of the Cynics and approved the possession of adequate means (see M.Griffin, Seneca, a Philosopher in Politics, Oxford 1976, p.294), the Stoic doctrine was that a poor man was to endure his poverty with indifference. (On Stoic attitudes to poverty, see further Kay at Mart. 11.56, F.H.Sandbach, The Stoics, London 1975, pp.29 ff.)

hoc gelidam petebat aquam: Fronto would probably have lived in a garret and, since only the houses of the rich would have had their own water supply, he would have had to collect water for daily use from a communal point (see e.g. Carcopino pp.50-51).

Hoc can be taken as an instrumental ablative: one would then have to imagine the zealously ascetic Fronto setting out with his jug to draw the coldest water he can. But, while the urceus is commonly mentioned as

a vessel for storing or serving water, it seems not often to have been used for fetching water.

Hoc therefore seems best taken as an ablative of source. The absence of a preposition is not an obstacle in verse, especially since the idea of origin is conveyed by petebat: see Woodcock §40 I, H-Sz II p.103.

14.107 Tankards

The satyrs love us as do Bacchus and the drunken tiger which knows how to lick the soaked feet of its master.

le. calathi: vessels made of bronze (Servius at Verg. G. 3.402) or wood (Isid. Orig. 20.5.5).

In saying that the calathus was used by satyrs and Bacchus (hence 'nos...amat'), Hilgers cites only this epigram as evidence (p. 128). It seems probable that the Bacchic company liked the calathus, or indeed any vessel, for what it contained rather than for itself.

The vessel is used for wine also at Verg. Ecl. 5.71 'vina novum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar'; cf. Mart. 8.6.16. Otherwise it is used for milk: Verg. G. 3.402.

An illustration of the vessel appears in D-S I(2) (p.813 s.v. calathus [E.Sagliol]): fig. 1001 (from a Pompeian wall painting).

For the order of the epigrams 107-115, see Intro. 'Order'. At Mart. 9.59.15 'expedit veteres calathos', the vessel is clearly costly, although that does not necessarily identify the calathi as such here. But whatever their value, this epigram appears to lack a partner.

1 nos satyri...amat: Satyrs are usual companions of Bacchus (cf. Ovid Ars 1.542 'ecce, leves Satyri, praevia turba dei', 3.157, Catul. 64.251

f.). They are often described as being fond of wine and frequently appear holding a cup; see e.g. John Boardman, Athenian Red Figure Vases: the Archaic Period, London 1975, plates 116, 299.2; cf. 314. A famous statue of Praxiteles represents a wine-pouring satyr.

The relationship between Bacchus and satyrs might stem originally from Bacchus/Dionysus' being god of fertility while the satyrs were embodiments of lust. This fertility Bacchus/ Dionysus was also god of various crops, including the vine, although the Bacchic connection with wine was at first not stressed (see Dodds Bacchae pp.xi ff.). It was, however, natural that the satyr's lack of sexual inhibition should eventually be associated not so much with Bacchus' role as a fertility god as with his role as god of wine.

On satyrs in general, see OCD² s.vv. 'satyrs and sileni'; for the cult of Bacchus, see E.R.Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational, California 1956, index s.v. 'Dionysus', and Bacchae loc. cit.

ebria tigris: Like his association with wine, so Bacchus' association with tigers was a late development: the Greeks did not meet tigers until Hellenistic times (Hollis at Ovid Ars 1.550). Tigers remained uncommon even in Rome, being imported from outside the Empire: Jennison pp.76-7. The first Roman appearance of a tame tiger, according to extant literature, was in 11 B.C.

When discussing Mart. 4.30.4 'qui norunt dominum manumque lambunt/ illam', Weinreich refers to 'lambere docta' (line 2) and suggests that this tiger licks its master's feet in acknowledgment of his divinity (Studien p. 146). He believes that docta here means 'instinctively' rather than 'durch Dressur gelehrt', and compares Sp. 18.1 f. 'lambere

securi dextram consueta magistri/ tigris'. (For uncoached animal acknowledgment of imperial/ divine status, see at Mart. 14.73.2 above.) It seems to me, however, that a more complete account of 'lambere docta' is possible.

Dionysiac iconography often represents the god as pouring wine onto the floor for a tiger or similar feline to lap up (cf. lambere): see Rediscovering Pompeii plate 5 and notes. When writing this epigram. M. almost certainly had a work of art in mind. (For tigers in art generally, usually in hunting or Dionysiac processional scenes, see Toynbee pp.69-82.).

Tigers are not natural wine-lovers (hence, perhaps, their drunkenness here). Rather, our tiger's acquisition of this taste (hence docta) symbolises the power of its master to tame and civilise; cf. [Tib.] 3.6.15-16 'Armenias tigres et fulvas ille leaenas/ vicit et indomitis mollia corda dedit' and see Austin at Verg. A. 6.805: the tigers there appear in their more usual role as drawers of Bacchus' chariot. Again, tigers are not natural draft animals, but their unnatural behaviour testifies to Bacchus' influence.

14.108 Gemmed cups

Look how this golden gemmed cup sparkles with Scythian fire: how many fingers it has stripped!

le. calices gemmati: On calices, see Mart. 14.94. le. n. For pocula gemmata, cf. Mart. 9.59.17 'et viridis picto gemmas numeravit in auro', Pliny Nat. 37.17 gemmata pоторia; see Blümner Priv. pp.393 n.7, 408 and n.12, Marquardt Prl. p.706 n.11, D-S II(2) p.146 col. 2 s.v. gemma [E.Babelon], Hilgers p.133. Expensive cups such as that described here

were distributed by Verus at dinner: S.H.A. Ver. 5. While only one cup is described, the lemma is plural - possibly to concur with that of Mart. 14.109, because this cup is part of a set, or through poetic inconsistency: see at Mart. 14.21.le. n. above.

The Syrian fashion (see Mayor at Juv. 10.27) of adorning gold cups with jewels was longstanding in the East and passed through Byzantium into the Middle Ages.

On the reordering of epigrams at this point, see Intro. 'Order'.

1 Scythicis...ignibus: i.e. 'with Scythian gems'. Scythia was famous for emeralds: cf. Mart. 4.28.4 'Scythas zmaragdos', 12.15.3-4 'miratur Scythicas virentis auri/ flammis Iuppiter', Pliny Nat. 37.65 'genera eorum duodecim: nobilissimi Scythici ab ea gente in qua reperiuntur appellati. nullis maior austeritas nec minus vitii. quantum zmaragdi a gemmis distant, tantum Scythicus a ceteris zmaragdis'.

Ignis is used of an emerald's sparkle also at Stat. Theb. 2.276 'arcano florentes igne zmaragdi'; cf. Publil. Mim. 15 Ribbeck 'quo Carchedonios optas ignes lapideos'.

2: Aspice accords with the visual brilliance of these cups; contrast sume applied to the ordinary ware of Mart. 14.109 below.

quot digitos exuit iste calix: Cf. Juv. 5.43-4 'nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert/ a digitis' with Mayor ad loc. who cites Stat. Sily. 1.3.49, Prop. 3.5.4, Justinian dig. 34.2.20, Pliny Nat. 33.5 'turba gemmarum potamus et zmaragdis teximus calices, ac temulentiae causa tenere Indiam iuvat. aurum iam arcessio est'.

Exuit is commonly used of stripping the body e.g. of clothes. It has connotations of forceful removal: cf. e.g. Suet. Nero 32.3; see ThLL V(2).2120.1 ff. s.v. exuo [Tietzel]: this cup has been very successful at depriving fingers (which would want to keep the jewels in their rings).

14.109 Saguntine cups

Take up cups made from Saguntine clay which a careless waiter might hold and keep watch over.

le. calices Saguntini: For clay calices (= pocula at line 2), see Hilgers p.133; in general see Mart. 14.94.le. n. These Saguntine cups are intended as a poor man's gift; cf. Mart. 4.46.14-16 where Saguntine features in a list of cheap Saturnalian presents, 8.6.2 where M. speaks of the poor quality of Saguntine pottery (albeit approvingly, in contrast to antiques), and Juv. 5.29 where the stingy Virro provides it for his guests (who use it as ammunition). Although Pliny speaks highly of Saguntine cups at Nat. 35.160 'Samia [vasa] etiam nunc in esculentis laudantur: retinent hanc nobilitatem et Arretium in Italia et calicum tantum Surrentinum,...in Hispania Saguntum', he is not contrasting them with gemmed cups (Mart. 14.108).

Marquardt, Prl. p.662 n.1, identifies four varieties of vessel found in the vicinity of Saguntum, including red Arretine-like ware. He declares, however, that no certain examples of Saguntine ware survive. See also R.E. IA.1755.63 ff. s.v. Saguntum [Schulten], esp. 1756.21, Kl.P. 4.1500.53 s.v. Saguntum [K. Abell].

On the reordering of the epigrams at this point, see Intro. 'Order'.

quae non sollicitus teneat servetque minister: By placing the relative clause first, M. emphasizes the inadequacy of the waiter to whom Saguntine might be entrusted: he is likely either to drop it (teneat) or to have it stolen by the guests (servetque).

Sollicitus denotes excessive care (OLD s.v. sollicitus 84). This waiter's failings are stressed via litotes.

Guests who stole table-ware appear to have been a common problem: cf. Mart. 8.59.7-8 'pocula solliciti perdunt ligulasque ministri', 12.74.5, Juv. 5.40 (guards over the table-ware), Plutarch Galba 12.4 (cf. Tac. Hist. 1.48, Suet. Claud. 32): Vinus, later all-powerful adviser to Galba, stole a valuable cup while dining with Claudius and, on being invited back the next day, found earthenware set before him. (When not stealing from the host, guests might steal from one another: Catul. 12.3.)

As for dropping table-ware, see Mart. 14.111 below (with which this epigram contrasts well).

14.110 A drinking flask

From this jewelled vessel, luxurious man, which preserves the fame of Cosmos, it is granted that you drink if you thirst for perfumed wines.

le. ampulla pоторia: The ampulla was a narrow necked flask, rounded or like a lekythos: Marquardt Prl. p.650, Hilgers pp.37 ff., Tafel 1, Walters Anc. Pottery II p.465 f., For its uses, see Trowbridge Anc. Glass pp.163-4, Hilgers p.103.

Seeing that ampullae might contain e.g. oil or perfume instead of wine, pоторia is a significant adjective; cf. Pliny Nat. 36.59 'pоторiis...vasis'. Note too Mart. 6.35.3-4 'vitreis...ampullis potas'

(where the vessel contains water), Suet. Dom. 21 'et modicam in ampulla potiunculam sumeret'. Potorius can also be used substantivally of a drinking vessel, as at Pliny Nat. 37.17 'gemmata pоторia'.

The gift is clearly costly (note gemma; also nomina Cosmi, luxuriōse, foliata), raising problems concerning the order of epigrams; see Intro. 'Order' for a full discussion. Possibly this epigram's partner has fallen out.

1 gemma: the material or decoration of an expensive cup and therefore the cup itself; see at Mart. 14.94.2.

For in, see Mart. 14.93.2 n. above.

servat quae nomina Cosmi: More delayed relatives at Mart. 14.192.1, 112.1 and 211.2; cf. 7.50.1 'fons dominae, regina loci quo gaudet Ianthis'. Details about Cosmos, the famous perfumier, are given at Mart. 14.59.2 n. above. The value of his perfume is indicated by Mart. 12.65.

The Loeb translates 'servat...nomina' as 'that bears the name of Cosmos'. This does servat little justice. Better to translate as above (for nomen meaning 'fame' or 'celebrity', see OLD s.v. nomen §11a).

For this ampulla to preserve Cosmos' fame, it must either have once contained his perfume, thus flavouring the wine it now holds, or the wine for which it is used is already perfumed (with Cosmos' wares; for the practice of perfuming wine, see Courtney at Juv. 6.303 'cum perfusa mero spumant unguenta Falerno'), and the vessel serves his memory simply by containing it. Since a gift is made of the ampulla rather than the wine, however, the former possibility seems perhaps more likely. (The

value of this container might then owe something to the fact that it was one of Cosmos' originals.)

2 si foliata sitis: Foliatum, or nardinum, was made from a mixture of perfumes; Pliny Nat. 13.15 provides a list of ingredients: 'nardinum sive foliatum constat omphacio aut balanino, iunco, costo, nardo, amomo, murra, balsama'; cf. Lilja p.81. It was a luxury: see Kay at Mart. 11.27.9; cf. Juv. 6.465, Galen XII.429 K, and wines flavoured by it, whether through actual mixing or the ampulla's residual flavour, would rank first amongst those perfumed.

14.111 Crystal glasses

While you are afraid of breaking crystal glasses, you will break them. Excessively safe and careful hands err.

le. crystallina: Vessels of rock-crystal were very expensive, being fragile (see below) and rare (Trowbridge p.80). Discussions include Marquardt Prl. p.765, Hilgers p.161, Blümner Priv. p.408, Tech. III p.250; cf. Mart. 3.82.25, 9.22.7, 10.13.5, Sen. Ep. 119.3 'utrum sit aureum poculum an crystallinum...nihil refert', Juv. 6.155 'grandia tolluntur crystallina' with Courtney.

Pliny implies (Nat. 37.29) that deliberate attempts at imitating rock-crystal with glass were made. It has rightly been thought that the term crystallina could also be applied to such (clear glass) imitations: Forbes V p.171, Trowbridge p.80: 'In most instances where crystallum, or crystallina, is used, it is impossible to determine whether glass or crystal is meant'. Failure to appreciate this has made for confusion in some of the secondary sources cited. Since this epigram corresponds with

Mart. 14.113 murrina (i.e. fluorspar) and since the R epigram after that, Mart. 14.115, refers specifically to glass, that rock crystal is meant here seems assured. No genuine crystal examples survive, so far as Trowbridge is aware.

1: That excessive care often leads to fractures has a proverbial ring, although Otto cites no parallels. For the fragility of crystal, see Petr. 64.10 'et vasa omnia crystallina comminuit', Sen. Dial. 5.40.2. Pliny remarks (Nat. 33.5) that such fragility is an attraction to those wanting to flaunt their opulence.

2 securae nimium sollicitaeque manus: Contrast Mart. 14.109.1 'non sollicitus'; cf. 11.11.2 'et mihi segura pocula trade manu' of ordinary ware, Mart. 12.74.7 f. 'quid quod securo potat conviva ministro/ et casum tremulae non timere manus?'.
 14.112 A glass sprinkling vessel

The cloud which comes from Jupiter will pour abundant water for mixing your wine: this will give you wine.

le. nimbus vitreus: Usually meaning a storm cloud (as in line 2), nimbus here refers to a glass vessel supposedly with many holes for sprinkling wine (like the watering-rose of a hose pipe?). The term seems not to survive with this sense elsewhere (see OLD s.v. nimbus §3b. Nimbus at Mart. 5.25.7 refers probably to a shower of perfume rather than a sprinkling device; cf. Mart. 10.38.8 and see Hilgers p.231).

Since the word nimbus suggests a fairly hard shower of rain (cf. 'largas.../ aquas'), as indeed does fundet (see OLD s.v. fundo §4d), it

is possible that the wine might have been discharged through this rose with some force, perhaps thus becoming aerated. There is, however, no definite evidence.

Vitreus indicates that this gift is the cheap counterpart to Mart. 14.111 crystallina (on cheap glass, see at Mart. 14.94.1e. above). Schneidewin's viteus is therefore wrong.

1 a Iove: Jupiter appears here in his role of weather god; see OCD² s.vv. Jupiter and Zeus, R.E. X.1129.22 ff. s.v. Iuppiter [Thulin], Kl.P. 3.2.23 ff. s.v. Iuppiter [W.Eisenhut]; cf. Homer Od. 9.111 καὶ σφιν Διὸς ὀμβροῦς ἀέξει, Tib. 1.7.26 'arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Iovi' with Smith in detail ad loc., citing e.g. Apul. Mun. 37 (Imbricator), CIL IX.234 (Pluvialis).

Poculum is common of the contents of a cup rather than the cup itself: see OLD s.v. poculum S2a, L-S s.v. poculum SIIA. On mixing wine with water (miscenda), see at Mart. 14.105.1 above.

2 hic tibi vina dabit: The positioning of Iove and the delayed relative (more listed at Mart. 14.110.1) emphasize Jupiter's rain, and make for a strong contrast between it and the wine dispensed by the 'nimbus vitreus' (hic, also emphatic after the caesura); the effect is perhaps to suggest that Jupiter's liquid, for all the attention given it, is of the lesser importance. (In this context, it is perhaps worth remembering Younger's suspicion (p.205) that in Rome undiluted wine was drunk more commonly than in Greece.)

14.113 Murrine ware

If you drink warm wine, Murrine ware suits flaming Falernian while from it comes a better flavour to the unmixed wine.

le. murrina: The n.pl. adjective acts substantivally. Murrine was first brought to Rome by Pompey in 63 B.C. amongst booty taken from Mithridates (Pliny Nat. 37.18). It was extremely costly: cf. Mart. 3.26.2, 82.25, 9.59.14, 10.80.1, Juv. 7.133 with Mayor ad loc., Pliny Nat. 37.20 (Nero spent 1 000 000 sesterces on a single cup while Petronius smashed one to prevent his having it); see Friedländer SG. II p.202, Blümner Priv. p.409 and n.3. Pliny Nat. 36.198 reports glass fakes.

The debate as to what murrine actually was is lengthy. Learned opinion now seems agreed that it was fluorspar (see Harden (1949) p.34, G.C. Whittick, JRS 42(1952), pp.66-67, C.N. Bromehead, Antiquity 26(1952), pp.65-70, Kl.P. 3.1474.9 ff. s.vv. murr(h)ina vasa [W.H. Gross], R.E. VIIIA.1.432.25 ff. s.v. vasa murrina [W.H. Gross]). Comparison is made (e.g. by Bromehead, p.69) with Derbyshire fluorspar or Blue John: carving and cutting Blue John disturbs the crystalline structure and causes fragility. To counter this, a vessel is soaked in hot resin which will then impart a slight taint to any liquid that the vessel might contain. There seems no reason to suppose that any fluorspar vessels known to the Romans would have been made differently, although the manufacturing technique of murrine was apparently unknown at Rome, the substance being imported (Pliny Nat. 37.21). Such identification of murrine with fluorspar would explain the flavour given to unmixed wine in line 2. Some confirmation of this identification is provided by Pliny Nat. 37.22 'aliqua et in odore commendatio est', while if the resin used

to treat the substance was (the very suitable) myrrh, the name murrina (i.e. $\mu\epsilon\mu\upsilon\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$) would be appropriate.

Murrina can also be used of wine flavoured with myrrh (Pliny Nat. 14.92, Paul ex Fest. 146M). Since murra (line 1) can refer both to murrine ware and to myrrh itself (OLD s.v. murra¹ and ²) and both meanings make sense in the epigram (see below), it is possible that M. is etymologising here - although, given that Pliny was evidently ignorant of why murrine ware was perfumed (Pliny Nat. 37.2), one cannot be certain. On perfumed wine, see Mart. 14.110.1-2 nn. above, Younger p.214.

D.B.Harden draws attention to a small fluorspar vase (Ash. 1953.782) in context of the murrine debate and which he describes as having 'rainbow-like purple and green tints in a colourless ground' (JRS 44(1954) p.53; cf. Ashmolean Report 1953 plate IIIc). Upon examination (my thanks to Dr Helen Whitehouse), I found only the slightest trace of anything remotely 'rainbow-like purple' and therefore feel confident that it is not the murrine, with its contrasting purples, whites and reds, described at Pliny Nat. 37.21-2. An example of murrine, if in existence, has still to be published.

1 si caldum potas: With caldum, sc. vinum, cf. calda sc. aqua at Mart. 14.105.1 above. M. apparently has in mind wine warmed and diluted by hot water; contrast mero, line 2. For the practice of mixing wine with warm water, see at Mart. 14.105.1 above; see too OLD s.v. calidum §1. Dilution of wines links Mart. 14.112 to 113.

Potas can be used of deep drinking; see N-H at Hor. Carm. 2.11.17, 1.20.1. That it is so used here is possibly indicated further by mero

(line 2): see N-H at Hor. Carm. 1.18.8 super mero. Deep drinking would concur with the air of luxury given by a murrine cup.

ardenti...Falerno: Cf. Hor. Carm. 2.11.13 ff. 'quis puer ocius/ restinguet ardentis Falerni/ pocula praetereunte lymphas?', Mart. 9.73.5 'ardenti...Falerno'. It was because of the fieriness of wine that it was diluted. Ardenti is paradoxical after caldum, since hot water tempers or 'cools' flaming wine.

murra.../convenit: As suggested above, murra might be taken as referring to myrrh as well as signifying murrine ware. Murrine ware was well-suited to fiery Falernian: although not of the highest quality (see at Mart. 14.170.2 below), Falernian was a very fine wine (see Younger pp.202-4, Charles Seltman, Wine in the Ancient World, London 1957, p.153 f.). Fine wine merited fine vessels. Myrrh too, intended for mixing, was possibly appropriate to a fine wine like Falernian; cf. Pliny Nat. 14.92 'lautissima apud priscos vina erant murrae odore condita, ut apparet in Plauti fabulis'. Mixing wine with myrrh vel sim. would compensate for the flavour lost through dilution.

That the Falernian wine of this epigram is heated through mixing could be significant (note the emphasis on 'si caldum potas'): murrine might possibly have been better suited to heated wine than e.g. crystal, which would crack (cf. Mart. 12.74.6. Incidentally, heated wine would extract the flavour of murrine resin better than would cold wine.).

2 et melior fit sapor inde mero: Murrine ware/ myrrh also improves

undiluted wine.

For sapor of wine, cf. Sen. Nat. 4b.13.3.

14.114 A plate from Cumae

The chaste Sibyl sent this, her townsman, to you, an earthenware piece red with the dust of Cumae.

le. patella Cumana: Cumae was famous for its pottery: cf. Var. Men. 114 'Cumanos calices', Stat. Sily. 4.9.43 (also of a Saturnalian gift) with Coleman ad loc., Pliny Nat. 35.165 'nobilitantur his [patinis] quoque oppida, ut Rhegium et Cumae'. This pottery was not up-market, however, and the epigram describes a poor man's gift; cf. Tib. 2.3.47-48 'at mihi laeta trahant Samiae convivia testae/ fictaque Cumana lubrica terra rota' describing modest ambitions. Note also rubicundam, line 1: for unglazed pottery signalling low cost or a humble station, cf. Mart. 13.7.1, 14.106.1.

Concerning the patella, see Hilgers pp.239-241, D-S IV(1) p.341 col. 1 s.v. patella [E.Pottier]. Those patellae used for cooking (OLD s.v. patella §1b) would, like these, have been rather ordinary. On the other hand, patellae used for divine offerings were no doubt finer (Marquardt Prl. p.318 n.8, OLD s.v. patella §1a). Hilgers loc. cit. cites examples of silver and gold.

1 Cumano...testam: 'Cumanae...testae' T (with rubicunda) cannot stand: it is not the sibyl who is red with dust but the patella. According to Heraeus' appendix, Giese suggests 'Cumanae...terrae', but the same objection applies. Also, all three families agree on test-. Testam G, Cumano and rubicundam C^a yield the correct reading.

For testae in humble contexts, cf. Tib. 2.3.47 quoted above and possibly Hor. Carm. 1.20.2 'Graeca...testa', although the interpretation here is difficult: see N-H I pp.247-8.

On pulvere, see Mart. 14.101.1 n. above.

2 municipem...suam: Municeps is humorously applied to things also at Mart. 10.87.10 'Cadmi municipes ferat lacernas'; cf. Juv. 14.270-1 'de litore Cretae...municipes Iovis advexisse lagonas', Aristophanes Ach. 333 ὁ λάρκος δημότης ὅδ' ἔστ' ἐμός. Note also Juv. 4.33 'vendere municipes...siluros' (with Courtney ad loc.).

The term is not used idly here: Cumae became a 'civitas sine suffragio' in 338 B.C. (Livy 8.14.11) and obtained 'praefecti Capuam Cumas' in 318 (Fest. 233M). Details of Cumae's municipal status appear at R.E. XI.2477.25 ff. s.v. Kyme [J.Weiss]. On Roman municipia generally, see F.F.Abbott and A.C.Johnson, Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire, Princeton 1926, pp. 8-9, A.N.Sherwin White, The Roman Citizenship,² Oxford 1973, index s.vv. 'municipia civium Romanorum', municipia, etc.

Misit with tibi (line 1) suggests flatteringly that the Sibyl sent the pottery especially to the recipient; but note that mitto is usual of exports: Mart. 14.51.1, 70.2, 152.1, Ovid Med. 53, Ars 3.213, Am. 1.12.10, Verg. G. 1.57, A. 7.715.

casta Sibylla: The term 'sibyl' was by M's time generic of a prophetess and there were sibyls associated with places other than Cumae (see Austin, Verg. A. VI, pp.56-7, Marquardt Stv. III p.350 f., OCD²

s.v. sybil). The Cumaean sybil was most famous, however, at least in the West (see R.E. IIA.2081.10 ff. s.v. Sibyllen [Rzach], L-S s.v. sibylla; cf. Verg. A. 6.98 'Cumaea Sibylla' and passim, Ovid Met. 14.104), and it is this association with Cumae that has a sybil as sender of pottery here.

For the Cumaean sybil's well-known chastity, the penalty for refusing Apollo her favours, cf. Ovid Met. 14.140 ff. 'hos tamen (i.e. as many years of life as she held grains of sand in her hand) ille mihi dabat aeternamque iuventam, / si Venerem paterer: contempto munere Phoebi / innuba permaneo', Verg. A. 5.735 'casta Sibylla', Sil. 13.444, Stat. Silv. 4.3.123 'virgineo...ore'; see R.E. IIA.2079.52 ff. s.v. Sibyllen [Rzach].

14.115 Glass cups

You behold the talent of the Nile: alas, how often when he wants to add more to his creations, the author destroys the work!

le. calices vitrei: Calices are discussed above (Mart. 14.94. le.n.). These glasses are Egyptian (Nili, line 1) and probably from Alexandria, where glass manufacture was centred; cf. Mart. 11.11.1, 12.74.1 'dum tibi Niliacus portat crystalla catapulus' (where crystalla should probably not be taken to refer to rock crystal; cf. S.H.A. Ver. 5 'crystallinos Alexandrinos' and see Trowbridge, p.81). That both Mart. 14.114 and 115 mention geographical locations might be intended as a link between epigrams. Good Alexandrian glass was valuable (Blümner Priv. p.409 and n.11, R.E. VII.1386.41 ff. s.v. Glas [Blümner]) and, despite the epigram's rather back-handed tone, was sought after at Rome. For the high prices that glass could command even in the days of mass

production, note Pliny Nat. 36.195; see R.E. loc. cit., Trowbridge pp. 79-80, Forbes V p.155.

The Egyptian glass to which M. refers specifically in this epigram is probably that called millefiori, i.e. 'thousand-flowered', it being highly decorated with other glass of different colours (see OCD² s.v. 'glass', Blümner Priv. p.410, Harden (1949) p.33, (1969) p.48: 'They (i.e. the Alexandrians) had...a predilection for decorated pieces with engraved designs...or polychrome mosaic patterns...'). Forbes illustrates millefiori from the Classical period (V figs 27-8).

The Loeb, in contrast, takes plura (line 1) to allude not to millefiori but as probably referring to the excessive ornamentation of diatrete, i.e. 'chalices made in one piece with network ornamentation', and compares Mart. 12.70.9. But nothing survives to link diatrete especially with Egypt.

1: Ingenium is given an ironic turn by the rest of the epigram. Too much skill is a fault.

1-2: quibus addere plura/ dum cupit, a quotiens perdidit auctor opus:
Cf. the Elder Seneca of Ovid: 'nam...Ovidius nescit quod bene cessit relinquere' (Con. 9.5.17).

Although noting that a is the invariable form in Martial MSS (Orth. Mart. p.47), Lindsay prints ah. Cf. the texts of Shackleton Bailey and Izaak. Heraeus, on the other hand, prudently follows the MSS in printing a, a course endorsed by Hofmann as the best compromise in default of conclusive evidence for the priority of ah (J.B.Hofmann, Gnomon 2(1926) pp. 250-251).

perdidit: See OLD s. v. perdo §2a.

14.116 A flagon for iced water

You drink Spoletan wines or those stored in Marsian cellars. What good is the noble coolness of boiled water to you?

le. lagona nivaria: The lagona was principally a wine vessel: see D-S III(2) p.907 col. 2 s.vv. lagena, lagynus [Louis Couvel, Hilgers p.203 f., Tafel 1, Blümner Priv. p.404, but its next most common use was for water.

Nivarius describes sieves for cooling wine or melting snow at Mart. 14.103-4. The adjective here identifies a vessel to contain snow-cooled water or decocta (see below) for mixing with wine. (On the dilution of wine with water, see Mart. 14.105.1 n. above.)

The epigram itself gives no definite indication of the lagona's value. That it was cheap is suggested by position (Mart. 14.115 is R) and its association, along with Mart. 14.117-8 idem, with the undoubtedly P matella fictilis of Mart. 14.119, this vessel being lagona shaped. (For these four epigrams' counting as one in the RP sequence, see Intro. 'Order'.) A lagona (of Syrian wine) appears in an ironic list of poor Saturnalian gifts at Mart. 4.46; cf. that of Laletanian at Mart. 7.53.6.

Without the lemmata of this epigram and Mart. 14.117-8, the temptation might be to take these epigrams as describing gifts not so much of lagonae as of decocta. This would hinder the above grouping of these epigrams with Mart. 14.119, thus making the sequence of epigrams hard to follow. The lemmata of Mart. 14.116-8 thus serve an important explanatory purpose not unlike that identified at Mart. 14.2.3 above.

1: Spoletine is wrongly identified as a quality wine by L-S s.v. Spoletinus, who misinterpret Mart. 13.120 Spoletinum: 'de Spoletinis quae sunt cariosa lagonis/ malueris quam si musta Falerna bibis' (i.e. old Spoletan is better than new Falernian). Athen. 1.27b describes the wine as sweet and golden-coloured.

For the development of the Roman palate and discernment regarding the quality of wine, see Griffin pp.65 ff.

Marsis condita cellis: Marsian wine too was generally considered inferior: Mart. 13.121 Paelignum: 'Marsica Paeligni mittunt turbata coloni:/ non tu, libertus sed bibat illa tuus', albeit useful in strengthening wobbly teeth: Scrib. Largus 57.

Condo is commonly used of storing wine (OLD s.v. condo S2b, N-H at Hor. Carm. 1.20.3; cf. Tib. 1.10.47. The process of decanting and storing wine once it had fermented would have required some care (N-H loc. cit. describe the procedure). That the addressee of this epigram took trouble to store Marsian wine is revealing about his palate.

For cella, often of a wine cellar, see OLD s.v. cella S1d.

2 quo tibi decoctae nobile frigus aquae?: i.e. 'What point is there in your having decocta if you mix it with plonk?' A jocular insult is probably intended.

Quo (quod TB^A, influenced possibly by the t which follows) is best taken as a kind of ablative of price. For such adverbial uses of the ablative of qui, see L-S s.v. quo S11b, OLD s.v. quo S2, cf. Mart. 14.27.2 above, Ovid Ars 1.303 'quo tibi, Pasiphae, pretiosas sumere vestes?'.

Decocta, i.e. water boiled and then cooled with snow, was reputedly invented by Nero: Pliny Nat. 31.40 'Neronis principis inventum est decoquere aquam vitroque demissam in nivis refrigerare', Suet. Nero 48.3. In general see Marquardt PrL, p.333, Blümner Priv. p.402. It seems to have been a common Saturnalian present: Mart. 2.85.1-2 'vimine clausa levi niveae custodia coctae, / hoc tibi Saturni tempore munus erit'. For the value set by its extreme coldness ('nobile frigus'), cf. Pliny loc. cit. 'ita voluptas frigoris contingit sine vitiis nivis. omnem utique decoctam utiliore esse convenit, item calefactam magis refrigerari, subtilissimo invento', Juv. 5.50 'frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis'.

On the preparation of decocta, note also Galen X.467 K ἐνίοις μὲν οὐ μόνον τὸ πρόσφατον ἔδωκα πηγαῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διὰ χιόνος ἐψυγμένον, ὥς ἐν Ῥώμῃ σκεύαζειν ἔθος ἔχουσι, προθερμαίνοντες τὴν κατασκευὴν, ἣν αὐτοὶ προσαγορεύουσι δηρόκταν.

14.117 The same

Ingenious thirst has discovered not how to drink snow but how to drink water made icy by snow.

le.: On the lagona nivaria, see Mart. 14.116. le. n. above. If the vessel there is cheap then so is it here and the liquid it would contain would again be decocta.

1 non potare nivem: Cf. Pliny Nat. 19.55 'hi nives, illi glaciem potant', noting, however, that Pliny is referring to drinks to which snow/ ice has been added rather than snow/ ice per se.

sed aquam potare rigentem/ de nive: The MSS offer a choice of readings: rigentem B^aC^a: recentem T.

Recentem de nive suggests a container of water recently chilled in snow, and now removed for serving (de denoting origin: OLD s.v. de §11, L-S s.v. de §A2).

Rigeo can, however, be used of freezing cold (but not frozen) water: OLD s.v. rigeo §2c; cf. Mart. 12.21.1, Stat. Theb. 10.497-8 'rigidi...natator/ Eurotae', Mart. 1.49.17 'avidam rigens (B^a: recens C^a) Dercenna placabit sitim/ et Nutha quae vincit nives'. It is therefore quite possible in the context of decocta: boiled water is made icy cold by snow, de being causal (OLD s.v. de §14, L-S s.v. de §C5).

Of the two possible readings, rigentem and causal de accord best with 'ingeniosa sitis' and the epigram's differentiation between drinking not snow but something very close to it although not quite the same, viz. snow-cooled water: potare indicates liquid consumption, but so clever is thirst that it has devised a way almost of drinking solids. Having in addition majority MSS support, rigentem is therefore to be adopted.

2 commenta est: Comminiscor is used of clever inventions: see ThLL III.1837.8 ff. s.v. comminiscor [Bonnier], OLD s.v. comminiscor §1a-b; cf. Suet. Cl. 41.3, Mela 1.12.65. It therefore accords with 'ingeniosa sitis'; cf. Pliny Nat. 31.40 'subtilissimo invento', 35.42. For comminiscor with a non-personal subject, see ThLL loc. cit. 1838.24 ff.

14.118 The same

Boy, do not mix the smoke of Massilian wine with snow water in case the water costs you more than the wine.

le.: On the lagona nivaria and its value, see Mart. 14.116.le.n. In this epigram, as that, the wine is inferior to the water: see below.

1-2 Massiliae fumos miscere nivalibus undis/ parce, puer,....: The address to a boy cup-bearer is a characteristic feature of sympotic poetry: see at Mart. 14.170.2 below.

With parce, cf. Mart. 14.105.2. Its prohibitive force is emphasised by alliteration and position. Miscere is usual of mixing water and wine: OLD s.v. misceo §1b; cf. Mart. 3.57.2, 8.50(51).19, Juv. 5.61.

Massiliae fumos refers metonymically to the wine produced at Marseilles; see Friedländer at Mart. 3.82.22-3 'Ligurumque nobis saxa cum ministrentur', who compares e.g. Mart. 5.65.3 'castigatum Libycae ceroma palaestrae' (= 'chastened Libyan wrestler'), 11.1.14 'nostrarum tineas ineptiarum' (= 'my bad books').

A smoking process was used to mature wines quickly (Younger pp. 212-3), but excessive exposure to smoke would taint the wine (Col. RR. 1.6.20). Marseilles was notorious for excessive smoking (Mart. 3.82.23, 10.36.1, 13.123) and, for all it was regarded approvingly (χαλός, σαρκώδης) by Athenaeus (1.27c), its wine was therefore not generally highly esteemed.

nivalibus undis: This must presumably, as at Mart. 14.116-17, refer to decocta, whose process of production would comply with the idea of water costing more than wine: 'constet ne tibi pluris aqua' (line 2; for this use of consto, see OLD s.v. consto §11a). For unda meaning water, see

Mart. 14.104.2 above. The contrast between bad wine and luxurious water is emphasised by the word order.

Play is made on water costing more than wine also at Mart. 3.56 and 57, there in the context of Ravenna's water shortages.

14.119 An earthenware chamberpot

While I am summoned with the snap of fingers and the slave dallies, o how often has a pillow been made my rival!

le. matella fictilis: The matella was not actually a chamberpot (= pelvis, Juv. 3.277) but a narrow-necked lagona-type flagon for male use: see Howell p.187, Hilgers p.217; cf. CGL V.373.39 'metalla genus vasorum ubi antiqui mingeabant', Paul ex Fest. 125M 'matula vas urinae', Plaut. Most. 386 'iam Hercle ego vos pro matula habebo nisi mihi matulam datis' (which specifically suggests male urination). Note also Petr. 58.9 'tamquam mus in matella' (which gives clues as to the shape), and cf. Mart. 6.89.3 (where Panaretus uses the 'lagona Spoletina' which he has just drained), Varro Men. 104. General discussions appear at D-S III(2) p.1662 col. 2 s.vv. matula, matella [E.P.], R.E. XIV.2182.34 ff. s.v. matella [Hug]. Since only the houses of the very rich would have had latrines, one would have used such receptacles when it was inconvenient to get to the public facilities (for which, see Carcopino pp.52-3).

Fictilis shows that this particular item was not valuable (cf. Mart. 14.171.le. n.). Not all such vessels were cheap: Trimalchio had a matella of precious metal for use when playing ball: Petr. 27.3-5; cf. Mart. 1.37 'ventris onus misero, nec te pudet, excipis auro, / Basse, bibis vitro: carius ergo cacas'. Nevertheless the lowly matella was the

rule; note the leaky example at Mart. 12.32.13; cf. Juv. 10.64 where Sejanus' statue is melted down for piss-pots.

1 dum poscor crepitu digitorum: Snapping one's fingers was the usual way to summon a matella: cf. Petr. 27.5 'cum Trimalchio digitos concrepuit, ad quod signum matellam spado ludenti subiecit', Mart. 3.82.15 ff. 'digiti crepantis signa novit eunuchus/ et delicatae sciscitator urinae/ domini bibentis ebrium regit penem', 6.89.1; see Marquardt Prl. p.178 n.11.

dum B⁴C⁴: cum T. While both are grammatically unobjectionable, dum gives better sense, suggesting repeated finger-snapping while the slave dallies. Cum suggests a single action.

et verna moratur: 'Matellam praestare alicui' (cf. Mart. 10.11.3) is used proverbially of performing a menial task: Otto s.v. matula §3; cf. Sen. Ep. 77.14. It seems from Mart. 3.82.15 and Petr. 27.5 that slaves were expected to guide a master's penis while he urinated, all the time continuing the other activities which engaged him. Given this unpleasant and risky task, it is no wonder that the verna here chooses to dally. (It is a little surprising that a home-grown slave should perform this task since such slaves were usually given preferential treatment: see above at Mart. 14.1.3-4 n. Various scenarios might be conjectured in explanation, however, such as a pecking order amongst even relatively privileged slaves. Elsewhere it is a eunuch who officiates: see quotations above).

2 o quotiens paelex culcita facta mea est: i.e. the master eventually wets the pillow (culcita, on which see Mart. 14.162.1 n. below) either of his couch (if he is at a banquet and has been drinking) or of his bed (if he has just woken up in the morning).

Paelex is here used humorously: mingo and other words for urination are often used in epigram and satire of ejaculation: Adams pp.142 ff., 245. If he cannot urinate/ejaculate into the vagina-like opening of the matella, the master has to embrace his pillow. (Matella is used of a woman at Petr. 45.8; compare Adams pp.87-8).

14.120 A silver spoon

Although knights and senators call me 'ligula', I am called 'lingula' by ignorant grammarians.

ie. ligula argentea: The ligula was a kind of spoon, and spoons seem to have been common Saturnalian presents: cf. Mart. 5.18.2, 19.11, 8.71.9; also Mart. 8.33.23, a New Year's gift. It was often paired with the smaller coclearium: Mohler p.255; cf. Mart. 14.121. Blümner, Priv. p.395, gives general discussion. Examples have been found in bronze, silver, horn and ivory.

Silver was commonly given at the Saturnalia (Mart. 14.93.1e. n.). It indicates here, along with the RP sequence, that this gift is valuable, at any rate in relation to piss-pots and snail-picks. (Contrast the cheap silver ligula at Mart. 8.71.9.)

1 equites patresque: i.e. the most elevated in society. This did not necessarily mean the best educated, especially with regard to equestrians in Flavian times (compare Friedländer SG. I p.135), but it

is common usage rather than educated grammatical prescriptivism that eventually decides linguistic acceptability. Therefore for all lingula might be etymologically right, M. is justified in criticising the pedantic grammarians who insist on 'correct' usage (OLD s.v. ligula compares finco and figulus).

2 dicor ab indoctis lingula grammaticis: It is unlikely that M. had specific grammarians particularly in mind here. Quintilian can certainly be ruled out, if not for chronological reasons (see Mart. 14.194.1 n. below), then because he agreed with M. anyway (Quint. Inst. 1.6.3): 'consuetudo vero certissima loquendi magistra, utendumque plane sermone ut nummo, cui publica forma est'.

Both M. and Quintilian would have commended Cicero who, despite his knowledge, yields to popular usage in the matter of aspiration: Or. 160. But for every Cicero in every age, there would have been several grammatical pedants, and, while not commenting on individuals here, M. is still making a valid generalisation. For the pervasiveness of grammatical pedantry, see e.g. Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable, A History of the English Language,³ (revised edn) London 1978, §189 f.

Indoctis is ironic: the reason grammarians said lingula was precisely because they were learned.

Grammaticis is discussed with other polysyllabic pentameter endings above: Intro. 'Metre'.

14.121 Snail spoons

I am suited to snails but am no less useful for eggs. You don't know, do you, why I should be called a snail-spoon rather than an egg-spoon?

Cf. Mart. 13.49 ficedulae:

cum me ficus alat, cum pascar dulcibus uvis,
cur potius nomen non dedit uva mihi?

1e. coclearia: Two forms of the word survive: coclearium (as here) and coclear(e) (as in line 2). The spoon so designated had a pointed handle used to pick at snails or shell-fish. Smaller and lighter than the ligula, it was an equally common present: cf. Mart. 8.33.24, 71.10. D-S I(1) p.1266 s.v. coclearium provides illustrations (figs 1688-9). Note also Blümner Priv. p.395. Although the epigram yields no clues as to value, it seems likely from the RP sequence that the implement was not expensive (cf. also Mart. 8.71.10).

1: Nec minus utilis balances habilis, while the litotes justifies the implement's equal right to be called an egg-spoon; cf. Petr. 33.6 'accipimus nos cochlearia non minus selibras pendentia ovaque ex farina pingui figurata pertundimus'. Pliny Nat. 28.19 has the spoon used for both eggs and snails.

Apicius provides recipes involving snails at 7.18.1-4 and eggs at 7.19.1-3. (Snails feature as a gustatio at Mart. 13.53 and are given as Saturnalian gifts at Mart. 4.46.11.)

2: Numquis scis expects a negative answer. Via the cocleare, M. is drawing attention to an (illogical) aspect of popular usage while perhaps deflecting from himself the possibility of being charged with

the prescriptivism which he condemns in Mart. 14.120 and which would affect any attempt at a definite answer.

vocer, T, is supported by Isid. Orig. 20.4.13 dicor and two C^a MSS (GA). Strong defence of it is possible: in early Latin and the poets, examples are common of the indicative in questions of fact which are indirect; see Woodcock §179 and H-Sz II pp.537 ff., referring to ThLL IV.1446.41 ff. s.v. cur.

The above stated, vocer has equally good witnesses and, since it has a parallel at Mart. 14.154.2 (where T reads vocer), it should be favoured here.

14.122 Rings

Earlier commonly but now scarcely does a friend give us. Happy is he whose companion is not someone else's knight.

Cf. Mart. 5.19.7-10:

est tamen hoc vitium sed non leve, sit licet unum,
quod colit ingratas pauper amicitias.
quis largitur opes veteri fidoque sodali,
aut quem prosequitur non alienus eques?

le. anuli: A gold ring denoted equestrian rank (see conveniently Courtney at Juv. 11.129). The census qualification for equestrian rank was 400 000 sesterces. Census qualifications for social rank were strictly upheld. Those failing to meet them were demoted (Mart. 8.5, Juv. 11.43). The rings of this epigram represent the larger gift of sufficient money for the recipient to qualify for equestrian rank, or to maintain it in times of financial hardship (see at Mart. 14.35.2). A

rich man's gift is therefore in question.

Concerning gifts of money, see generally at Mart. 14.9.2 above. Other epigrams similarly concerned with benefactions specifically to supplement inadequate census are Mart. 4.67, 5.25, 12.6.9. The history of census qualifications is given by Friedländer, SG. I p.134.

This epigram is one of the riddling type to which the lemma supplies the solution; cf. the epigrams listed at Mart. 14.2.3 n. above. Clues as to the gift's nature are supplied by the epigram's vocabulary: see below on amicus and comes, and note eques.

1 ante frequens sed nunc rarus nos donat amicus: The relationship between benefactor and recipient conformed to the Roman concept of amicitia: in giving Romatius Firmus 300 000 sesterces to raise his census to that of an equestrian, Pliny refers to 'nostra amicitia' (Ep. 1.19.3). Both parties in this relationship would be amici, and both would benefit from the association (see below). Here amicus is applied to the benefactor.

On amicitia in general, see P.White, 'Amicitia and the profession of poetry in early Republican Rome', JRS 68(1970), pp. 74-92 and esp. pp. 80 ff.

frequens, rarus: On adverbial adjectives, see K-S II(1).236b. Laments at the decline of patronage are common in the poets; cf. e.g. Ovid Ars 3.405 ff.

2 felix cui comes est non alienus eques: i.e. the man who gives his comes 400 000 sesterces is happy because, having done so, he will

benefit from that man's gratitude. But he can expect no gratitude if his comes receives money from someone else.

M. refers to his own equestrian status at Mart. 3.95.9 ff., presumably soon after he had acquired it. This epigram might perhaps be a hint from him to potential patrons. A poet could, of course, make his benefactor happy by granting him literary immortality (cf. Pliny Ep. 3.21.6, Cic. Arch. 27-9).

Regarding the traditional maçarismos formula, see Richardson at the Homeric hymn to Demeter, line 480.

Comes is often found in contexts of amicitia, as are words like sodalis, diligere/ dilectus, contubernium/ contubernalis, caritas/ carus, familiaritas/ familiaris and affectionate possessives, e.g. meus and noster. But unlike these words, comes is not generally used, as it is here, as a synonym for amicus, or to reflect the idea embodied by amicitia. Instead, it usually occurs in contexts of travel, denoting accompaniment rather than describing a relationship (cf. P.White op. cit. p.80 and n.20).

14.123 A ring case

Often a heavy ring will slip from an oiled finger; but your gem will be safe in my trust.

le. dactyliotheca: Cf. Mart. 11.59:

senos Charinus omnibus digitis gerit
nec nocte ponit anulos
nec cum lavatur. causa quae sit quaeritis?
dactyliothecam non habet.

See too Juv. 13.139 and Ovid Am. 2.15(16).19 where loculus is used: the

word dactyliotheca was spurned by some as being foreign. Hence the Elder Pliny distances himself from it at Nat. 37.11: 'quod peregrino appellat nomine dactyliothecam' (where it used of a collection of gems).

In comparison with the 400 000 sesterces implied by the rings at Mart. 14.122, this ring case is a poor man's gift (complementary pairs of gifts are listed at Mart. 14.31.le. n.).

1 gravis...anulus: The weight suggests a gold ring, of vulgar proportions, which we know is jewelled (line 2). Concerning such rings, see Kay at Mart. 11.37 and Courtney at Juv. 1.29. It was possible for rich non-equestrians to wear gold rings studded with small jewels which did not show from a distance, thereby passing as equestrians without attracting penalties for usurping rank (for these penalties, see Friedländer SG. I p.144); cf. Petr. 32.3 '(Trimalchio) habebat etiam in minimo digito sinistrae manus anulum grandem subauratum, extremo vero articulo digiti sequentis minorem, ut mihi videbatur, totum aureum, sed plane ferreis veluti stellis ferruminatum'). This anulus therefore contrasts with the genuine equestrian anuli of Mart. 14.122.

digitis elabitur...unctis: There was real danger of losing rings at the baths since they would slip off fingers wet with olive oil and perhaps also sweat (cf. Juv. 1.28 where rings make fingers sweat, and see Courtney ad loc.). Charinus is all the more ostentatious at Mart. 11.59 since he keeps his rings on at the baths, showing that he can afford to lose them.

Gem stones too were easily lost: an impressive collection has been recovered from the drain of the Fortress Baths at Caerleon.

With elabatur, cf. Ovid Am. 2.15(16).13 elabar, also of a ring falling off.

2 tuta mea fiet sed tua gemma fide: Tuta, coming at the line's beginning, stresses the security offered by the dactyliotheca. The chiastic word-order 'mea...tua gemma...fide' helps illustrate the protective function of the case. Mea and tua are emphatic, perhaps helping indicate that the rings and ring cases of Mart. 14.122 and 123 complement one another.

For the metonymical use of gemma referring to jewelled rings, see OLD s.v. gemma S4; cf. Mart. 14.94.2 referring to jewelled cups, q.v. ad loc.

14.124-158:

This sequence of epigrams deals for the most part with fabric or clothing of some description. Mart. 14.124, the first poem in the sequence, is unusual. Unlike the other poems in Book 14, it does not concern itself directly with the gift it accompanies, focussing instead on the Emperor. It is possible that it was originally the first poem in a pre-publication selection of M's Apophoreta, dealing with clothing, which was presented to Domitian.

Other epigrams concerned with clothing are Mart. 14.65-6, 206-7. Clothes were often given as ξένια: cf. Homer Od. 8.392, 15.125 ff., 24.276 f., Verg. A. 3.482 ff., Diod. 13.83.2. For their distribution at the Roman Saturnalia, see Suet. Aug. 75.

14.124 A. toga

He, who has conferred immortality on his mighty father, is the person who makes the Romans 'masters of the world and the togaed race'.

le. toga: This is a rich man's gift, as is the toga in the following epigram (q.v. ad loc. for details of cost). Together they contrast with the endromis of Mart. 14.126, a poor man's gift (see 14.126.1).

Concerning the toga, see L.M. Wilson, The Roman Toga, Baltimore 1924 and Clothing, Ch. 4. See too D-S V p.347 col.2 ff. s.v. toga [F.Courby]. It is mentioned as a present at Mart. 7.86.8; see also 14.125.le.

1-2 Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam/ ille facit: At Virgil, A. 1.281-2, Jupiter says '(sc. Iuno...mecum) fovebit/ Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam'. In quoting these lines, M. is likening Domitian (ille) to the gods; cf. at Mart. 14.1.2 'nostrum...Iovem'.

Suetonius cites Augustus as referring to the same lines of Virgil at Aug. 40.5: 'visa quondam pro contione pullatorum turba, indignabundus et clamitans: en Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam, negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem post hac paterentur in foro circave nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere'. It is possible that as well as flattering Domitian, M. is referring here to his insistence that togas be worn at the spectacles: see at Mart. 14.135.2.

Res is often used of the sum of human affairs in the world, particularly when under someone's control: OLD s.v. res §15a; cf. Lucan 5.698 f.: 'non rector ut orbis/ nec dominus rerum, sed felix naufragus esses', 6.595, Tac. Hist. 2.78 (of Vespasian) 'nec erat intactus tali superstitione, ut qui mox rerum dominus Seleucum quendam mathematicum rectorem et praescium palam habuerit'.

2 magno qui dedit astra patri: 'Astra dare' can mean 'deify' or 'give immortality': cf. Mart. 5.65.1 'astra polumque dedit', 9.101.22, and note 8.53(55).15 'an magis Herculeo, Germanice, misit ab astro/ hanc tibi vel frater vel pater ipse feram (i.e. a lion)'; see also ThLL II.973.53 ff. s.v. astrum [Dittman]. It cannot refer here to Vespasian's actual deification, however, which was effected by Titus in A.D. 80. Rather, it must refer in some way to the observation of his cult, whether generally or specifically.

If 'dedit astra' refers generally to Vespasian's cult, the usage is unparalleled. If, on the other hand, it refers specifically to some aspect of the Imperial cult, there are possibilities to explore and problems which arise from them.

'Dedit astra' might refer either to the building of the temple of Vespasian or the temple of the Flavian gens (for which, see Suet. Dom. 1.5, Mart. 9.1.8).

The ceiling of the templum gentis Flaviae was probably decorated to look like the night sky: see Coleman at Stat. Silv. 4.3.19. This accords attractively with 'dedit astra'. But the temple was completed in 95 (see Intro. 'Date' above), a decade later than Friedländer's terminus ante quem.

The temple of Vespasian was begun by Titus and completed by Domitian: see Platner Ashby p.556 s.vv. 'Divus Vespasianus, Templum', Nash II pp. 501-4 with figs 1320-23. Since the date of this temple is unknown, reference to it is not definitely excluded by chronology. But then, unless this temple too had a star-decorated ceiling (not inconceivable; cf. Mart. 7.56.1 describing the domus Domitiana and see again Coleman at

Stat. Silv. 4.3.19), dedit astra is less neatly explained.

A wholly satisfactory answer seems impossible.

14.125 The same

If it is easy for you to lose your morning sleep, the sportula will often come through the wearing out of your toga.

le. toga: For the toga, see at Mart. 14.124. It was required wear at the morning salutatio when clients greeted their patrons and received the sportula (for which see Courtney in detail at Juv. 1.95; generally, see Marquardt Prl. p.259, Carcopino pp.191-3; cf. Mart. 9.100, 12.18.4-6). The sportula amounted to 2½ denarii a day (Mart. 10.75.11), while we are told that an old, cheap and well-worn toga cost more than 3 denarii (Mart. 9.100). A good toga cost more, and once acquired was expensive to keep clean (Juv. 3.180 f. with Courtney). It is likely therefore that poorer clients were hard put to appear at the salutatio properly dressed and that there was some justification behind the numerous complaints which survive about the dress requirement. Nevertheless, it seems possible that some patrons responded sympathetically to their clients' difficulties by giving them togas, although perhaps not good ones (Mart. 2.85.3-4; see too Friedländer SG. I p.196), and, while a rich man's gift, it is possible that this toga goes to a poor recipient.

1: Si facile est tibi refers to the burden of getting up early enough for the salutatio; cf. Juv. 5.19-20 'habet Trebius propter quod rumpere somnum/ debeat et ligulas dimittere'. The early hour at which clients were expected was much resented (Mart. 10.82, 12.29(26)) and M. cites the salutatio as a reason for leaving Rome (12.68).

perdere TB^a: rumpere C^a. Rumpere has many parallels: cf. Luc. 4.395 'certos non rumpunt classica somnos', Juv. 5.19 quoted above, Mart. 12.26.7 'abrumpere somnos', Sen. Dial. 10.14.4, Mart. 12.18.14. But, in addition to having superior MS support, perdere has greater appeal, contrasting the loss of sleep with the questionable gain of the sportula: all one gets from collecting it is a worn out toga; cf. Mart. 4.26:

quod te mane domi toto non vidimus anno,
vis dicam quantum, Postume, perdiderim?
tricenos, puto, bis, vicanos ter, puto, nummos.
ignosces: togulam, Postume, pluris emo.

With 'attrita...toga' (line 2), cf. Mart. 9.100.5 'trita quidem nobis togula est'. According to Mart. 10.96.11, one could wear out 4 togas in a summer.

matutinos: Cf. Mart. 12.68.1 'matutine cliens'.

14.126 A warm wrap

The gift is a poor man's, but its use is not: we send you this wrap instead of a cloak.

ie.: The endromis was a garment put on between bouts of exercise to prevent getting cold - like a modern tracksuit. It was usually made of coarse wool (and was therefore cheap; cf. line 1), but its warmth ensured that it was nonetheless a gift not to be despised in icy December (Mart. 4.19.3). For discussion of the garment, see also Courtney at Juv. 6.246.

The word endromis survives in Classical Latin only in M. and Juvenal (ThLL V(2).561.30 ff. s.v. endromis [Friedrich]). That M. says 'quae

Lacedaemonium barbara nomen habet' (4.19.2) might suggest that the word had not been long in use in Latin.

1 non est pauperis usus: Wealthy men can still catch cold, and a cheap wrap is as good as a costly cloak in keeping out the chill. A similarly defensive stance can be observed at Mart. 14.62.1, 104.2.

2 laena TB^a: togula C^a. C^a's reading is probably a gloss, attempting to establish a closer link between Mart. 14.125 and 126 than the mere alternation of values. In fact, the endromis and laena are probably more closely related to Mart. 14.127 canusinae fuscae than to the togas of the preceding epigrams.

Concerning the laena, see at Mart. 14.138 below. Like the endromis, the laena was a warm garment: Varro reports that it contained a good deal of wool, as much even as two togas (L. 5.133), and it is often described as being duplex (see CGL IV.106.28, V.463.11). Unlike the endromis, the laena was often of fine or rich stuff: cf. e.g. Juv. 3.282-5, Pers. 1.32, CGL IV.533.8, V.370.24, 112.19.

endromida: On polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Mart. 14.58.2 n. and Intro. 'Metre' above.

14.127 Dark Canusian capes

This Canusian cape, very like stirred up mulsum, will be a present for you. Rejoice: it will not grow old quickly.

le. Canusinae fuscae: Although we are not told precisely what sort of garment is intended, it is very probable that the epigram describes a

paenula; see ThLL II.150.38 onomasticon s.v. Canusium, Heraeus ad loc.; cf. Marquardt Prl. p.565 n.6. If so, it begins a series of four touching on the same theme.

The paenula was a heavy cloak designed for cold or wet weather and commonly worn by people who worked out of doors (Courtney at Juv. 5.79, Wilson Clothing pp.87 ff.). Although not official issue, it was favoured by soldiers, especially centurions (Wilson Clothing p.88; cf. Mart. 14.129.2 below); but it was also worn by civilians, of all social classes (Wilson Clothing p.89).

Canusium, modern Canosa, was an Apulian town on the way to Brundisium. Horace tells of its gritty bread and bad water (Serm. 1.5.91). It was celebrated for its wool, which was valuable (Pliny Nat. 8.190, Mart. 9.22.9, Suet. Nero 30.3; see Courtney at Juv. 6.150). This gift is a rich man's.

Fuscus usually implies a rather dingy colour. Although Roman colour terms are less precise than ours (e.g. fuscus is used of mourning, presumably black, at Apul. Met. 2.23), that it refers to a brownish hue here is fairly safely assumed (see below; cf. André Couleur pp.123 ff.).

For plural lemmata describing single gifts, see at Mart. 14.21.1e.

1-2 haec tibi turbato Canusina simillima mulso/ munus erit: Pliny describes Canusian wool as naturally fulvus (Nat. 8.191), although natural colour could be altered by dyeing (hence the red Canusian cloaks at Mart. 14.129).

Mulsum was honeyed wine. Usually it was made with Falernian, an amber coloured wine (Pliny Nat. 37.47), the honey being Attic (Mart. 13.108): see generally B.Flower and E.Rosenbaum, The Roman Cookery Book,

London 1958, p.25, Blümner Priv. p.202. Amber wines were probably also described as fulvus (cf. Pliny Nat. 14.80).

The fulvus of amber wine was perhaps a lighter shade than that of untreated Canusian wool since the addition of honey would darken the wine's colour, at least temporarily: dissolving honey in wine is impossible, and mixing it is difficult, especially with sweet wines. If left to stand, mixtures separate as the denser honey sinks to the bottom, with the result that the colour of the mulsum lightens. Therefore M. specifies a mixture recently stirred and suggests that, unlike mulsum, this paenula will not lose its colour.

2 non cito fiet anus: The paenula, being grammatically feminine, is personified as an anus of the future - the metaphor alludes to the topos of the elegiac mistress who is doomed to grow old. In contrast, the cloak will never fade. On anus, see at Mart. 14.147.2.

The swiftness with which old age comes (to the detriment of youthful beauty) receives frequent comment: cf. Ovid Ars 3.65 'cito pede labitur aetas', Tib. 1.4.27-8 'transiet aetas/ quam cito' with Murgatroyd, 1.8.47-8, Plato Smp. 195b1-2.

14.128 A Gallic hood

Gaul clothes you in a Santonian Gallic hood. Recently it was the cloak of long-tailed monkeys.

le. Bardocucullus survives elsewhere in Classical Latin only at Mart. 1.53.4-5 'sic interpositus villo contaminat uncto/ urbica Lingonicus Tyrianthina bardocucullus' (ThLL II.1751.5 ff. s.v. bardocucullus [Ihm]). The word cucullus appears more often, describing a detachable

hood (see at Mart. 14.140. le. below).

Cucullus is probably Germanic in origin (Holder Altkelt I p.1183). Bardo- has, however, been feasibly derived from the Bardei, an Illyrian tribe in Dalmatia (see D-S I(2) p.1578 col. 1 s.v. cucullus [Salamon Reinach], OLD s.v. Vardaicus; cf. S.H.A. Pert. 8.3 'cuculli Bardeici'). Possibly it originally indicated a regional variation of the same garment, which later fell away: at any rate, M. apparently finds nothing peculiar about associating the bardocucullus with Gallia (line 1) or the Lingones (Mart. 1.53.5). Similarly, he identifies the cucullus with Illyria: Mart. 14.140. le. n. below.

Less probable derivations of bardo- are recorded by Howell at Mart. 1.53.5.

1 Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo: Cf. Juv. 8.145 'Santonico...cucullo'. The Santoni were a Gallic tribe to the north of the Garonne (OLD s.v. Santoni).

Another polysyllabic hexameter ending at Mart. 14.215.

2 cercopithecorum paenula nuper erat: On the paenula, see at Mart. 14.127. le. Friedländer suggests that, as entertainment, monkeys have been exhibited wearing hoods as paenulae. These hoods are now distributed as apophoreta. Quite how the cucullus could be arranged to resemble a monkey's paenula is not explained, however. (For presents of monkey performers, see at Mart. 14.202 simius, q.v. also on the cercopithecus).

Giving a hood was cheaper than giving a cloak. This is a poor man's present.

14.129 Red Canusian capes

Rome is clad rather in dark capes, Gaul in red ones, and this colour pleases boys and soldiers.

1e. Canusinae rufae: See at Mart. 14.127. 1e. for the paenula, probably referred to here as there, and on the value of Canusian wools.

1 Roma magis fuscis vestitur, Gallia rufis: Fuscis recalls Mart. 14.127. 1e. Canusinae fuscae, q.v. ad loc. for the colour. Dark hues were no doubt thought in keeping with Roman gravitas, and prejudice existed against bright colours (cf. Mart. 1.96.6 'qui coccinatos non putat viros esse', 1.96.9 'fuscus colores, galbinos habet amores', Sen. Ep. 114.21 'qui lacernas coloris improbi sumunt', Nat. 7.31.2 'colores meretricios matronis quidem non induendos viri sumimus'). Nevertheless, not all Romans wore sober colours, as is implied by magis and indicated by line 2: the Roman preference for dark colours was possibly a professed ideal rather than an actuality: thus legislation was required under the Empire to restrict the wearing of purple to those qualified by rank or status to do so (M. Reinhold, History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity, Brussels 1970, pp. 49 ff.).

Since Canusium was in central Italy, to contrast Rome here with Gaul would have been inappropriate had not the Gauls been known for their love of bright colours, stripes and checks (cf. Verg. A. 8.660, Prop. 4.10.43; see R.E. VII.637.32 s.v. Galli [Niesel]). Again, of course. M. is generalising: magis applies as much to Gallia as Roma.

The word rufus does not always indicate the bright red needed here to balance fuscus. It can mean something like 'tawny'; cf. André Couleur

pp. 80-82. Forbes, IV pp.100 ff. and Table II, gives details regarding red dyes, of which several were available in Antiquity.

2 et placet hic pueris militibusque colos: colos C^A: color TB^A.

Although the usual form (see ThLL III.1713.1 ff. s.v. color [Hofmann]), color is almost certainly wrong here: the lengthening of naturally short closed final syllables commonly occurs, but before an initial vowel and almost always at the main caesura (Platnauer p.59).

Scarlet cloaks were frequently worn by the military in Classical times (Forbes IV p.104, Reinhold op. cit. p.59, W.Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, Chicago-London 1979, s.v. χλαμύς; for military use of the paenula, see at Mart. 14.127.le.). Little boys no doubt favoured red in imitation; for children playing soldiers, see R.E. III(A).1766.4 ff. s.v. Spiele [Hug]. Caligula's soldier suit is mentioned at Suet. Cal. 9.

14.130 A leather cape

Although you might embark on a journey when the sky continues to be clear, let a leather cape nowhere be lacking against sudden showers.

le. paenula scortea: Regarding the paenula and its use out of doors, see Mart. 14.127.le. n. above.

With scortea, cf. Varro L. 7.84 'dicimus scortea ea quae e corio ac pellibus sunt facta'. In the absence of rubber and other synthetic materials, leather was the obvious substance to use for water proofing. It was evidently not expensive, at least when compared with Canusian wool.

1 caelo...sereno: Cf. Cic. Fam. 16.9.2, Verg. A. 5.870. There was indigenous to Latin no word like 'cloudless' as in 'cloudless skies', and the Lucretian coinage innubilus (Lucr. 3.21; cf. ἀνέφελος) was not generally adopted. Ovid uses periphrasis at Ars 3.173 'sine nubibus aer'.

For usque meaning 'continuously', see OLD s.v. usque §5a; cf. Hor. Carm. 2.9.1 ff.: 'non semper imbres nubibus hispidos/ manant in agros aut mare Caspium/ vexant inaequales procellae/ usque...'.

2 ad subitas nusquam scortea desit aquas: Cf. Sen. Nat. 4.6.2 'cum signum dedissent adesse iam grandinem, quid expectas? ut homines ad paenulas discurrerent aut ad scortear?'

Some Roman waggons would have been covered (cf. Blümner Priv. p.463 fig. 69), but this was not always so; and many journeys would have been made on foot or horseback.

For this use of subitus, see OLD s.v. subitus §1a citing e.g. Lucr. 5.216 'subiti...imbres'. Aqua is commonly used of rain water: OLD s.v. aqua §2a.

nusquam TEA: numquam B⁴XV. Choosing between the two readings is very difficult. Heraeus and Izaak prefer numquam, Lindsay, Shackleton Bailey, Ker and Housman (Class. Pap. p.1100) nusquam. Whichever one reads, the epigram's message is clear, that one should always have one's waterproofs on a journey. Nusquam is possibly slightly preferable in that it can be taken as relating to viam.

14.131 Scarlet cloaks

If you favour the blue or the green, you who put on scarlet, see to it that through this lot you do not become a deserter.

le. lacernae coccineae: Information on the lacerna can be found in Blümner Priv. p.215, Courtney at Juv. 9.28, R.E. XII.327.52 ff. s.v. lacerna [Langel], Wilson Clothing pp.117 ff., D-S III(2) p.901 col. 1 ff. s.v. lacerna [Henry Thédonet]. It was originally exclusively a military garment, but was later adopted by civilians. Poor quality lacernae were often given to clients by their patrons. Its colour suggests, however, that this garment is costly: cf. Mart. 2.16.2, Pliny Nat. 37.204; see Courtney at Juv. 3.283, Friedländer SG. II p.175. The scarlet dye is produced by the female insect Kermococcus: Forbes IV p.102.

Lacernae are also described at Mart. 14.133 and 135, i.e. in alternate epigrams from 131. They appear as presents additionally at Mart. 7.86.8.

Concerning the word coccinus and for a list of instances, see Colton p.256. The form coccineus survives in Classical Latin only here and at Petr. 32.2, 38.5 (ThLL III.1392.72 ff. s.v. coccineus [Stadler]); cf., however, Not. Tir. 98.58.

For plural lemmata describing single gifts, see at Mart. 14.21.le.

1 veneto prasinove: i.e. the colours of two of the circus factions (for the others, see at Mart. 14.55.1 above). The Blues and the Greens did not appear as factions until early in the 1st Century A.D., but became the most popular and later absorbed the original factions, the Reds and the Whites (Harris p.194). This epigram aside, that fans wore the colours of the factions they supported is indicated by a mosaic in Istanbul (Harris p.140 and plate 54). A scarlet cloak might have

suggested that its wearer supported the Reds; hence the pentameter's warning.

In contrast to the expensive scarlet, blues and greens could be had at small cost; cf. Ovid Ars 3.171 ff. 'pretio leviores colores', esp. lines 173 (blue), 177 (sea green), 181 (myrtle green).

qui coccina sumis C^α: quid coccina sumes TB^α. Sumo is usual of putting on a garment. Asking 'quid coccina sumes?' with TB^α is silly. Having drawn the cloak in a lottery (with 'ista...sorte', cf. Mart. 14.1.5 above), the recipient naturally tries it on. Cf. Housman, Class. Pap. p.1104.

2: Transfuga is the usual word for one who goes over to the other side. It is just possible that transfuga here is intended to recall the lacerna's original use as a military garment, but certainty is impossible: the word is often used generally. Rivalry between factions could be intense, as is suggested at Mart. 10.48.23-4; but since the reds had little support, the charge of desertion here is likely to be jocular.

14.132 A cap

If I were able, I should have wanted to send whole cloaks. As it is, I send only presents for your head.

le.: Concerning the pilleum and its special associations with the Saturnalia, see at Mart. 14.1.2 above. It appears to have been a common Saturnalian gift: Stat. Silv. 4.9.24, quoted below.

The singular lemma is inconsistent with 'totas...lacernas', line 1,

and munera, line 2. For such numerical discrepancies, see Mart. 14.21.le. n.

1 si possem, totas cuperem misisse lacernas: Cf. Mart. 14.153.2 'essem si locuples, munus utrumque darem'. Pillea might be made from old lacernae; cf. Stat. Silv. 4.9.24 'scissis pillea suta de lacernis' with Coleman ad loc. Unable to send a whole lacerna, the donor sends part of one. This gift is not unlike the P gifts listed at Mart. 14.31.le. above which complement their R counterparts.

14.133 Baetic cloaks

My wool is not deceitful nor am I changed in the vat. In this way let Tyrian mantles please. My own sheep dyed me.

le. lacernae Baeticae: The lacerna is discussed at Mart. 14.131.le. The River Baetis is the Guadalquivir in modern Andalusia (Baetis is its earliest known name: R.E. II.2763.19 ff. s.v. Baetis [Hübner]). The area through which it flowed was renowned for its sheep (Mart. 8.28.5-6), whose valuable fleeces (cf. Mart. 12.65.5) are described as having a natural red colour (Pliny Nat. 8.191), but were probably more a ruddy brown than a pure red: note Columella's description 'pullus atque fuscus' (RR. 7.2.4; on fuscus, see Mart. 14.127.le. n. above); cf. Mart. 1.96.4-5.

Further details and quotations regarding Baetic wool are given by Mayor and Courtney at Juv. 12.41 and 40 respectively.

For plural lemmata describing singular items (note mihi, me), see at Mart. 14.21.le. above. Concerning lemmata which explain epigrams' riddling contents, see Mart. 14.2.3 n. above.

1-2: M. describes Baetic sheep and their fleeces in similar terms at 12.63.3 ff.: 'albi quae superas oves Galaesi: / nullo murice nec cruore mendax, / sed tinctis gregibus colore vivo'. The superiority of these Baetic sheep recalls that of the coloured sheep of Virgil's Golden Age (Ecl. 4.42-5):

nec varios discet mentiri lana colores,
ipse sed in pratis aries iam suave rubenti
murice, iam croceo mutabit vellera luto,
sponte sua sandyx pascentis vestiet agnos.

1: Muto is used especially of colour changes (OLD s.v. muto §11; cf. Verg. Ecl. 4.44). With mendax, cf. Verg. Ecl. 4.42.

aheno: i.e. the vat in which dye was kept; see OLD s.v. aeneum §1c; cf. Ovid Met. 6.61 'Tyreum quae purpura sensit aeneum', [Sen.] Her.O. 663 'Sidonio...aeno', Ovid Med. 9. Tyrian purple (cf. Tyriae, line 2) was introduced to Rome in the 1st Century B.C. (Pliny Nat. 9.137). It was a 1:1 mixture of two dyes, extracted from the shellfish murex and purpura. Once set (in urine; hence perhaps Vespasian's notorious tax: Suet. Vesp. 23.3), it seems to have been permanent (Lucr. 6.1074 ff.). On the dyeing process, cf. Pliny Nat. 9.125-42, Vitr. 7.13.3; see Forbes IV pp.112 ff., OCD² s.v. 'purple'.

The orthographical evidence for aeneus (-nus) and aheneus (-nus) is inconsistent (Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.47), and certainty as to M's spelling here is impossible.

nec TB^a: neque C^a. Nec usually precedes a vocalic word in M., or one beginning with h (see at Mart. 14.94.2 above). But given that it has majority MS support here, it is rightly preferred by editors to C^a's neque.

2: Tingo is common of dyes (L-S s.v. 9B1). Its use of natural colour is humorous.

14.134 A breast bandage

Bandage, constrict the swelling breasts of my mistress so that there may be something for my hand to take and cover.

le.: Fascia pectoralis is the usual term for the Roman brassière. For other names, see Mart. 14.66. le n. above. A fascia or bandage was in fact what the garment amounted to: see D-S II(2) p.980 s.v. fascia [G.Lafaye] fig. 2879, a Venus figure applying a breast bandage. General information on the Roman brassière can be found at R.E. VI.2007.19 ff. s.v. Fasciae [Maul, Blümner Priv. p.230, D-S loc. cit. p.980 col. 1 ff.

In contrast to the Baetic cloak, this gift (cf. Mart. 14.66 mamillare) would have been a cheap 'joker', intended to make fun of the woman who received it. On Saturnalian gifts for women, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D.

1 crescentes dominae compesce papillas: Large breasts were not admired and efforts were made to stop pubescent girls from developing them: see Brown at Lucr. 4.1168 mammosa; cf. Ter. Eun. 313 ff.:

haud simili' virgost virginum nostrarum, quas matres student
demissis umeris esse, vincto pectore, ut gracilae sient.
siquaest habitior paullo, pugilem esse aiunt, deducunt cibum.

Also Non. 538.7M 'strophium est fascea brevis quae virginalem horrorem cohibet papillarum'.

As well as constraining growing breasts, the fascia pectoralis would support and restrain those which had already grown: note Ovid Rem. 337

f. 'omne papillae/ pectus habent, vitium fascia nulla tegat', Hieron. Ep. 117.7.3 'papillae fasciolis conprimuntur et crispanti cingulo angustius pectus artatur'.

Domina would not be used of a pubescent girl. Rather, the epigram must refer to a mistress (or even wife: OLD s.v. domina S3a) who is putting on weight.

The papilla is strictly speaking the nipple, but it is used poetically of the whole breast, usually and sometimes ironically with attractive women in mind; cf. e.g. Plaut. Cas. 848 'edepol papillam bellulam', Prop. 2.15.5 'nudatis...papillis', Ovid Am. 1.4.37 'habiles...papillae'. Perhaps the domina had attractive breasts, but they are in danger of becoming less so.

2 ut sit quod capiat nostra tegatque manus: The ideal breast was one that a cupped hand could contain; cf. Maxim. 5.27 'urebant oculos durae stantesque papillae/ et quas adstringens clauderet una manus', Petr. 86.5 'implevi lactentibus papillis manus' (although this refers to a boy's breast). Without support, however, breasts larger than the ideal would droop flabbily, denying a firm handhold.

Capio is used not of the hand but a fascia at Prop. 4.9.49 'mollis et hirsutum cepit mihi fascia pectus'.

14.135-142: On the ordering of these epigrams, see Intro. 'Order' above.

14.135 White cloaks

We recommend ourselves from our use in the amphitheatre when a white cloak covers chilly togas.

le. lacernae albae: Regarding the lacerna, see Mart. 14.131. le. n. above. This gift must have been costly given the value of the lacernae at Mart. 14.131 and 133; see Birt p.77; also given its colour: Suet. Aug. 40.5 suggests that the lacerna was not usually white.

1 amphitheatrali: At Mart. 11.69.1, Kay notes the rarity of this adjective. It survives in contemporary literature at Pliny Nat. 11.84 (ThLL 1.1983.77 ff. s.v. amphitheatrali), but is not found earlier.

2 cum teget argentes...togas: teget T: tegit B^aC^a. Being lectio difficilior, teget is preferable. For temporal cum with iterative sense used with the future tense, see H-Sz II p.621 f., who cite Ovid Ars 2.529 'cum volet, accedas; cum te vitabit, abibis'.

Domitian made the toga compulsory wear at spectacles: see Blümner Priv. p.213, Friedländer SG. II p.8, Carcopino pp.173-4. This was generally resented, as the toga was uncomfortable and often too hot (cf. Mart. 12.18.5 'sudatrix toga'); but a poor man's toga might have worn thin (cf. Mart. 9.49) while a cold day might render even the warmest of togas inadequate. Cloaks, if worn, had apparently to match the toga's whiteness: Mart. 4.2 suggests that Nature approved of Domitian's ruling to the extent of snowing to make the black-cloaked Horatius conform.

For wearing the lacerna over the toga, see Courtney at Juv. 9.28-31, Marquardt Prl. p.568, Blümner Priv. p.215.

14.136 Dinner suits

Neither courts nor bail is known to us. This is our task, to recline on embroidered couches.

le.: Cenatoria were worn at meal-times and at the Saturnalia. How the garment compared with the synthesis (cf. Mart. 14.142) is not clear. Other references to it include Petr. 21.5 and Mart. 10.87.12 (which suggests a costly gift; therefore a lacuna must be supposed between this epigram and Mart. 14.135). Cenatoria appear on pittacia at Petr. 56.9, being paired there with forensia, i.e. clothes for the forum; cf. Suet. Aug. 73. This epigram mentions forensia by implication (line 1).

Without the lemma, it would not be clear what this epigram refers to; see Mart. 14.2.3 n. above for similar epigrams.

1 fora: Dinner suits were inappropriate to the forum where one would wear a toga, especially when speaking in the courts; cf. Tac. Ann. 11.7, Pliny Ep. 1.22.6 and see Courtney at Juv. 8.49 and 16.43-4. Ovid associates the Forum Iulium with litigation (Ars 1.79 ff. with Hollis at lines 81-2; cf. Ars 3.451-2, Rem. 660), but other fora were also used for this purpose (see e.g. below). For the metonymical use of forum to mean 'court', see OLD s.v. forum §5.

Vadimonia were agreements to appear before the urban praetor in the Augustan Forum on a certain date and at an appointed hour (usually very early). Those failing to show up were fined: see Crook pp.49, 75-6, 248-9, J.M.Kelly, Roman Litigation, Oxford 1966, p.6; cf. Gaius Inst. 4.184 'cum autem in ius vocatus fuerit adversarius, neque eo die finiri

potuerit negotium, vadimonium ei faciendum est, id est, ut promittat se certo die sisti'.

2 pictis accubuisse toris: i.e. the cushions on dinner couches. Embroidered cushions appear also at Verg. A. 4.206-7, Ovid Ep. 12.30. The metrically convenient perfect infinitive is regularly used with present sense at this point in the pentameter.

14.137 A scarf

If by chance I have given you an invitation, being about to recite, let this scarf protect your poor little ears.

Cf. Mart. 4.41:

quid recitaturus circumdas vellera collo?
conveniunt nostris auribus ista magis.

le.: The focale was usually worn by invalids, hypochondriacs and lecturers or singers who wanted to protect their voices: see Blümner Priv. p.221, D-S II(2) p.1193 col. 2 f. s.v. focale [P.Gachon], R.E. VI.2815.52 ff. s.v. focale [Mau]; cf. Mart. 6.41, Quint. Inst. 11.3.144 'focalia...sola excusare potest valetudo', Sen. Nat. 4b.13.10.

This epigram relies on the unpopularity of recitations for its humour: cf. Pliny Ep. 1.13.4 'nunc otiosissimus quisque multo ante rogatus et identidem admonitus aut non venit aut, si venit, queritur se diem (quia non perdidit) perdidisse' and passim; see Courtney at Juv. 1.3. M. achieves further humour by having a poet (himself?) providing the wherewithal to shut out the noise of his own recitation. (A similar brand of humour is evident at Mart. 14.10 chartae maiores: see ad loc.).

Following Lindsay's ordering (see Intro. 'Order' above), this gift is P by position.

1 libellum: Cf. Tac. Dial. 9.3 'libellos dispergit' with Güngerich, Pliny Ep. 3.18.4 'hunc librum cum amicis recitare voluissem, non per codicillos, non per libellos admoniti sed "si commodum" et "si valde vacaret"...convenerunt'.

2 tuas adserat auriculas: Cf. Mart. 11.98.10 'non te cucullis adseret caput tectum (sc. a basiatoribus)'. The diminutive auriculas is likely to be ironic and mocking rather than a reflection of true concern: the poet has no intention of cancelling his recitation, as he could have had he truly wished to save people's ears.

On the orthography of adserat, see Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.41.

For polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Intro. 'Metre' above.

14.138 A cloak

In winter time smooth cloaks are not much good: my hair warms your pallia.

le. laena: There are insufficient literary references to this kind of cloak to form a clear impression of it: see Wilson Clothing p.112 f., who infers that it was woollen, circular, often brightly coloured, and fastened at the shoulder with a fibula. It was worn as a formal sacrificial vestment by flamines. It was thick and warm (cf. Varro L. 5.133 'laena, quod de lana multa, duarum etiam togarum instar'; see

Marquardt Prl. p.570, Wilson Clothing p.113), and was evidently worn on top of the pallium (line 2).

1 temporale brumali non multum levia prosunt: i.e. smooth cloaks are no use at all. In contrast, this cloak, thick and hairy (note villus, line 2), is well suited to the Saturnalia's mid-winter date (cf. Mart. 14.72.1 'mediae...tempore brumae'). The texture of the two types of cloak, smooth and hairy, and the hairy cloak's assertive tone here, might suggest that smooth cloaks are pricier. But, following Lindsay's ordering (see Intro. 'Order'), this gift is R by position and, in comparison with tablecloths (Mart. 14.139) and scarfs (Mart. 14.137), even a coarse cloak is costly.

2 calfaciunt villi pallia vestra mei: One might have more pallia than one. The plural is therefore not otiose (levia, line 1, is a generalising plural).

The pallium was worn as an outer garment by both sexes (that the further covering of the laena is needed testifies to extreme winter coldness). It was an adaptation of the Greek himation and in early times would not have been worn by Romans in Rome. (Indeed, Cicero felt called to defend Rabirius for wearing a pallium rather than the toga at Alexandria: Rab. Post. 25.) Later, it acquired greater acceptance: Maecenas wore one in the forum (Sen. Ep. 114.6), while by M's day it was quite common at Rome. For general information, see Wilson, Clothing pp. 78-83.

Villus connects and contrasts this epigram with Mart. 14.139 (note

villosa, line 1). It refers to the nap of cloth; cf. Mart. 14.147.1 villosa, 145.1 villorum and see OLD s.v. villus S1b.

14.139 A table cloth

Let thick-piled cloths cover your better citron table: on our table-tops there can be a ring.

ie. mantele: In Classical Latin this word survives elsewhere of a table cloth only at Mart. 12.28(29).12 'mantele a mensa surpuit Hermogenes': see ThLL VIII.332.63 ff. s.vv. mantel(l)ium et mantele [Deickel, Marquardt Prl. p.312. Cf., however, Isid. Orig. 19.26.6 'mantelia nunc pro operiendis mensis sunt; quae, ut nomen ipsud indicat, olim tergendis manibus praebebantur'.

1: Linthea of table cloths is apparently unparalleled. Table napkins or towels, whether linen or not, are often linthea, however: see OLD s.v. lintheum S2b. Table napkins (<mappae>) are Saturnalian presents at Mart. 4.88.4, 7.53.4.

villosa: See at Mart. 14.138.2 villi. Effective table cloths would need a good and absorbent pile; cf. the towels used to soak up spills on bar counters today. (At Sid. Ep. 5.17.8, a 'lintheum villis onustum' is used to mop perspiration.) Being a cheap gift, this table cloth is ineffective, however. It is thin and unabsorbent, being suited therefore to tables where rings do not matter (line 2).

nobilius...citrum: See at Mart. 14.3, 89 and 91 for the value of citron wood and the tables made from it. A cheaper table is described at Mart. 14.90.

2 orbibus in nostris: Orbis is usually used of a citron table-top: OLD s.v. orbis S2f. M. is being humorous in applying it here to a cheap table. Circulus, referring to the ring from a glass or mug, picks up orbibus rather nicely.

14.140 Liburnican hoods

You do not know how to match your cloaks with us, you fool. You put on white; now take off green.

le. cuculli Liburnici: We know little about the cucullus save that it was a detachable hood possibly of Germanic origin (see at Mart. 14.128.1 above) and that it was a simple garment (cf. Juv. 3.170) worn principally by slaves and labourers (Blümner Priv. p.218). In later times it was worn by Christian monks to symbolise humility (cf. 'cowl'). Superior versions were worn in Antiquity by the better heeled, e.g. when travelling. At Juv. 6.117 the cucullus is worn as a disguise. Other references include Mart. 5.14.6, 10.76.8, 11.98.10. This epigram describes a coloured hood, the colouring indicating cost (see below; contrast Mart. 14.128 where the bardocucullus is P).

For general discussion, see Courtney at Juv. 8.143, R.E. IV.1739.35 ff. s.v. cucullus [Mau], D-S I(2) p.1577 col. 2 ff. s.v. cucullus [Salomon Reinach].

The Liburni lived in Northern Illyria, i.e. modern Croatia; cf. Pliny Nat. 3.139 'Arsiae gens Liburnorum iungitur usque ad flumen Tityum'. For

Illyrian association with the garment, see further at Mart. 14.128.1e. above. They were otherwise famous for their ships (OLD s.vv. Liburna, Liburnicus).

1: Iungere is literally 'to join', although it is not the attachment of hoods to cloaks that is in question here, but the matching of colours: the addressee has attached his coloured hood to a white lacerna, and the hood's dye has run, staining the cloak. Hence 'exue callainas' (line 2). On the lacerna, see above at Mart. 14.131.1e.

2: Callainas balances albas. The colour is that of a blue-green stone: cf. Pliny Nat. 37.151 'Callais sappiram imitatur, candidior et literoso mari similis'. The adjectival form recurs at CIL 14.2215.17-18 'vestem siricam purpuream et callainam' where the context establishes the colour as having value. The word is very rare (ThLL III.165.50 ff. s.v. callainus [Mbr]).

Green dyes are seldom mentioned in Antiquity, perhaps because not many natural greens exist. The ancients made their greens by mixing, there being a good supply of yellows and blues from which to choose: see Forbes IV p.125 and his tables. While costly, green would not have been worn by a gentleman: see Howell at Mart. 1.96.9 galbinos. The stultus of this epigram is a real bumpkin.

On polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Intro. 'Metre' above.

14.141 Cilician moccasins

Wool did not supply these, but the beard of a smelly husband: your foot will be able to hide in a Cinyphian embrace.

le. udones Ciliciei: Udones were socks or moccasins of felt or fur; cf. Ulp. dig. 34.2.25 §4 'alia causa est udonum, quia usum calciamentorum praestant', P.Mich. 468.25, Poll. 10.50 ἔξεστι δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ πλεκτοὺς πίλους, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων οὐδάνων πίλους τριμίτους Λυσίππου εἰπόντος ἐν Βάκχαις ἄλλα τρίμιτός ἐστι πῖλος; and see Marquardt Prl. p.502. Along with soleae, udones feature amongst the presents sent to a soldier at Vindolanda (Tablet 38.1-4 quoted at Mart. 14.65.1e.; compare the child's textile sock found at Vindolanda (see Robin Birley, Vindolanda (site guide), Greenhead n.d., fig. 32). Note also the felt shoes worn by campaigning Greeks at Plato Smp. 220b4). The language of the Vindolanda tablet is an indication perhaps that udones were cheap utilitarian objects.

Cilicia was a Roman province in S.E. Asia, being perhaps best known as the home province of St. Paul. Cilicius is here used referring to the felt for which the region was famed. Felt is made by beating, rolling and pressing animal hair or wool into a compact mass of even consistency (Forbes IV p.89 f.), and of surprising strength: while often used for footwear (Forbes *ibid.* p.91), felt might also be used e.g. for sails or tents (see below at 'Cinyphio...sinu'). Indeed, it is possible that St. Paul the σκηνηπόιός was in fact a felt-worker; see F.F.Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles, Michigan 1986 repr., at Acts 18.3. The art of felt working is probably older than that of spinning or weaving. (Forbes *ibid.* p.89).

1 olentis...mariti: i.e. the billy goat, who was often called the 'husband of the flock': see N-H who collect parallels at Hor. Carm. 1.17.7 'olentis uxores mariti'. The pompous diction here is farcical.

Regarding the billy goat's smell, cf. Ovid Ars 1.522, 3.193, Catul. 69.6, 71.1, Hor. Ep. 1.5.29, Epod. 12.5. It is regularly cited with reference to axillary perspiration.

2 Cinyphio...sinu: Although initially advertised as Cilician, these particular moccasins apparently come not from S.E. Asia but N. Africa: the River Cinyps was near the Syrtes (Pliny Nat. 5.27). A similar geographical assimilation can be seen at Mart. 7.95.11 ff.: 'rigetque barba, / qualem forficibus metit supinis / tonsor Cinyphio Cilix marito'. For the uses of Cinyphian felt, see Mynors and Thomas at Verg. G. 3.311 ff.:

nec minus interea barbas incanaque menta
Cinyphii tondent hirci saetasque comantis
usum in castrorum et miseris velamina nautis.

Cf. Varro R. 2.11.11 'capra e pilis ministrat ad usum nauticum et ad bellica tormenta et fabrilia vasa'.

Sinus commonly designates the fold in a garment (OLD s.v. sinus §1a) and, in the poets, comes to mean the garment itself: L-S s.v. sinus §IIA1bβ). It is apt of the folded and foot-embracing fabric of udones, but would have been inappropriate of most other types of footwear.

For equal pentameter halves, see Intro. 'Metre' above.

14.142 A synthesis

While the toga rejoices in resting throughout five days, you will be able to put on this gear as of right.

le.: For the synthesis and its holiday associations, see at Mart. 14.1.1 above. On its possible R value, see Intro. 'Order' above. (If it is R, a lacuna must follow: Mart. 14.143 is also R.)

1 dum toga...gaudet: Cf. Mart. 14.1.1 'synthesibus dum gaudet eques dominusque senator': the toga rejoices as much in its holiday as do its wearers in being able to put it aside.

per quinas...luces: Regarding the length of the Saturnalian festivities, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section B.

2 iure tuo: The toga was required wear at formal occasions, e.g. at the salutatio (Mart. 14.125.1e. n.), the spectacles (Mart. 14.135.2 n.) and in the law courts (Mart. 14.136.1 n.). Those who did not exercise their right at the Saturnalia to discard this uncomfortable garment (see at Mart. 14.1.1 gaudet) were out of place - like Charisius at Mart. 6.24.

14.143 Patavian tunics

Patavian garments of triple weave use many fleeces, and only a saw can cut the thick garments.

1e. tunicae Patavinae: The tunic is not a peculiarly Roman garment: variations can be found in many societies (Wilson Clothing p.55). These tunics possibly owed something to Gaul. (Patavium, modern Padua, was an important Cisalpine city.) Climate, location and social status dictated whether the tunic was worn as an undergarment or not. In Rome, only the common working folk would have worn it unconcealed by a toga, but this did not apply in the provinces: cf. Pliny Ep. 5.6.45 'nulla necessitas togae', Mart. 4.66.3.

The complex weave and thickness of this particular tunic (see below) indicate cost, although N.Italian winters would have demanded heavy garments for all (cf. Wilson Clothing p.66). On tunics in general, see

Kl.P. 5.1005.8 ff. s.v. tunica [W.H.Gross].

The adjective Patavinus is relatively infrequent but survives also in Cicero and Livy: see OLD s.v. Patavinus. In M., it recurs at 11.16.8.

1: Trilix apparently survives here and at Arn. 3.21 alone of fabric, although it appears regularly of armour (e.g. at Verg. A. 3.467, Sil. 2.401). Page explains the term trilix at Verg. A. 3.467: in the simplest weave, the weft passes over each alternate thread of the warp before returning, this time under it. To avoid raising or lowering alternate warp threads individually, each such thread, weighted and on a standing loom, is attached by a licium or leash to a rod so that, by raising or lowering the rod, all the alternate threads can be raised or lowered together. For more complex weaves, the number of rods and leashes is increased to permit working e.g. in double or triple sets. The more complex the weave, the thicker the fabric and the more wool it uses. Compare Forbes IV p.189 s.v. 'twill'.

Being without a nap, trilix differs from gausapum, another Patavian fabric (cf. Mart. 14.152; see generally at Mart. 14.145. le.).

2 pingues tunicas: Pinguis is used of a toga at Suet. Aug. 82.1, and of lacernae at Juv. 9.28; cf. Mart. 4.19.1 'pinguem...alumnā', i.e. an endromis. At Suet. Nero 20 it survives describing luxuriantly thick hair. So thick is the fabric of these tunics that a saw is claimed necessary to cut it: although unparalleled, the hyperbole comes naturally to mind. On the Roman saw and the material for which it was usually used, see R.E. IIA.1740.65 ff. s.v. serra [Keunel], Kl.P. 5.138.1

ff. s.v. serra [W.H.Gross], D-S IV(2) p.1256 col. 2 ff. s.v. serra [A.Héron de Villefossel].

14.144 A sponge

This sponge is given to you by lot; it is useful for wiping tables when, light once the water has been squeezed out, it swells.

le. spongea: Sponges were common apophoreta: Mart. 7.53.4, Suet. Aug. 75. Their uses were varied: e.g. medical (Pliny Nat. 31.124 ff.), as gags (Sen. Dial. 5.19.3) and for erasures from writing tablets (cf. Mart. 14.7.2 above); but they were probably most commonly employed in domestic contexts, whether for physical cleanliness or housework. In general, see OLD s.v. spongia §1b and D-S IV(1) pp. 1442-5 s.v. spongia [Maurice Besnier].

Different types of sponge are discussed by Pliny (Nat. 9.148 ff.), who also tells of the risks faced by sponge divers (e.g. dog fish: Nat. 9.151). Despite these risks, it is unlikely that sponge was expensive.

1 sorte datur: See Mart. 14.1.5 n. above.

tergendis mensis/ utilis: Cf. Homer Od. 1.111 οἱ δ' αὖτε σπόγγοισι πολυτρήτοισι τραπεζας/ νίζον, 20.151-2, 22.438-9. With tergendis, cf. Lucil. 568M 'tersit...gausape mensas'.

2 expresso cum levis imbre tumet: When squeezed out, sponges become lighter and more absorbent. Having been squeezed out, this sponge is now able to expand again (tumet) through soaking up spills on the table; cf. Mart. 13.47.2 'ut levis accepta spongea turgent aqua'.

Exprimo is naturally used of squeezing a sponge: it occurs also e.g. at Suet. Vesp. 16.2; cf. Lucr. 4.618.

14.145 A frieze cloak

Such is my whiteness, so great is the charm of my wool that you would want to put me on even in the middle of the harvest.

le. paenula gausapina: On the paenula, see at Mart. 14.127.1e. For gausapum (<gausape> or 'frieze', see Kl.P. 2.704.29 ff. s.v. gausape [W.H.Gross]: 'Der auf einer Seite haarige Wollstoff' (as opposed to amphimallium which had a nap on both sides), R.E. VII.378.38 ff. s.v. gausape [Zahn], Blümner gewerbl. Tätigheit pp. 101 ff., D-S II(2) pp.1459-60 s.v. gausape [E.Saglioli]; cf. Mart. 14.147, 152.2 below. According to Pliny, the fabric first appeared in his father's day (<Nat. 8.193). As far as we know, it was produced in Patavium alone: see Blümner Priv. p.238 n.17; cf. Mart. 14.152.2, Strabo 5.1.12. While costly, gausapum was also notoriously hot; cf. Mart. 6.59.8 'mense vel Augusto sumere gausapinas' where Baccara is asked to don his cloak at the height of summer rather than pray for bad weather so that he can show it off. The cloak in this epigram is so fine that one would want to wear it even during the hot work of harvesting (for which see below).

This epigram and Mart. 6.59.8 aside, the adjectival form gausapinus survives only at Mart. 14.147 below (ThLL VI(2).1721.28 s.v. gausapinus [Leumann]).

1 is...candor: Gausapum was not always white: cf. Petr. 21.2 'ultimo cinaedus supervenit myrtea subornatus gausapa cinguloque succinctus', Mart. 14.147.2 below. For this usage of is, see OLD s.v. is §3.

villorum gratia tanta est: For the villus or nap of a cloth, see at Mart. 14.138.2 above. The nap of gausapum is mentioned again at Mart. 14.147.1 below.

tanta est B^{AC}: tanta T. The pairing of compound and simplex forms is common in poetry; see R. Renehan, 'Compound-simplex verbal iteration in Plautus', CPh 72 (1977), p.243, Charles Murgia, 'Notes on Quintilian', CQ 41 (1991), p.210 n.69. 'Tanta est', with its majority MS support, is therefore not to be despised. For the elision of est at the end of the hexameter, cf. Mart. 14.150.1 '...victa est'.

With gratia (χάρις), cf. Pliny Ep. 2.17.1 'gratiam villae', Verg. A. 6.653-4 'gratia currum/ armorumque' and see OLD s.v. gratia S6a, L-S s.v. gratia S1B.

2 ut me vel media sumere messe velis: Crops were harvested in the summer, when it was hot: Verg. Ecl. 5.70 'ante focum, si frigus erit, si messis, in umbra', and the work was possibly done in the heat of the day: Verg. G. 1.297 'at rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur aestu' with Thomas (but contrast Mynors). Hesiod advises one to strip for ploughing, sowing and reaping (Op. 391-2) and this must have been common (although not everyone farmed naked: West ad loc., p.257).

14.146 A pillow

Anoint your head with the oil of Cosmos, and your pillow will smell of it: when the hair has lost the ointment, the feather will retain it.

le. cervical: This epigram is the first of several concerned with bedding.

The cervical's uses extended beyond supporting one's neck (cf. Isid.

Orig. 19.26.4): it was used by recliners at dinner (CIL 13.5708 line 6, Petr. 78.5; cf. perhaps Isid. loc. cit. cubito), or to cushion the seats of the amphitheatre (Juv. 6.353).

A cervical appears on one of the pittacia at Petr. 56.8. Colton discusses the word cervical on p.256.

1 tingue C^A: pingue B^A: pinguae T. Pingo is used of colouring; it is not used of anointing with perfume. For tingo of anointing, cf. Mart. 2.59.3 and see OLD s.v. tingo §2.

Hair oil, which would be worn at celebrations or parties (see at Mart. 14.50.1 above), suggests expense (cf. Catul. 10.11). But for all its costly feather stuffing (see Mart. 14.161.1e. n. below), it is probable that, unlike the hair oil, this cervical is not expensive, at any rate in comparison with the gausapum of Mart. 14.145 and 147.

Cosmi folio: Cosmi TB^A: nardi C^A. Regarding Cosmos the perfumier, see at Mart. 14.59.2. C^A's reading is clearly a gloss (cf. Heraeus ad loc.). Nevertheless, although leaves of other aromatic plants are designated as folia (OLD s.v. folium §2), it is probably right to think that nard is meant by folium here. Nard is specifically used to anoint hair e.g. at Ovid Ars 3.443-4 'coma...liquido nitidissima nardo'. General information about nard is given by J.I. Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, Oxford 1969, pp. 88-92.

Oleo can be used of both odours and, as here, fragrances (OLD s.v. oleo §1).

2: The hexameter's oiled hair and fragrant pillows are tellingly countered by the pentameter's hair no longer oiled but pillow still fragrant. Within the pentameter, perdidit and tenet are pointedly contrasted, placed at the line's beginning and end, as are coma and pluma by juxtaposition.

For perdo of inanimate things, see OLD s.v. perdo §3a; for teneo meaning 'retain', see OLD s.v. teneo §13a.

14.147 Frieze bed clothes

Your woolly bedding shines bright with its purple weave. What good is it if an old woman of a wife freezes you?

Cf. Tib. 1.2.75-6:

quid Tyrio recubare toro sine amore secundo
prodest cum fletu nox vigilanda venit?

le. cubicularia gausapina: For gausapum and the adjective gausapina, see at Mart. 14.145 above. Mart. 14.152 also describes bedding of gausapum. Gausapina here expands on villosa and qualifies tapetis, line 1. For the lemma's explanatory function, see at Mart. 14.2.3.

Cubicularis occurs in Book 14 also at 39 and 150. lee.

1 stragula...villosa: There seems no doubt that the bottom 'sheet' on a Roman bed was called a stragulum (from sterno: cf. Varro L. 5.167 'hoc (i.e. mattress) quicquid insternebant ab sternendo stragulum appellabant'), and it is likely that the top 'sheet' was the opertorium: cf. Sen. Ep. 87.2 'ex duabus paenulis altera stragulum, altera opertorium facta est'. Whether the top 'sheet' could also be called a stragulum is uncertain, but possible: hence the plurals stragula here

and at Mart. 14.148.1. On top of the 'sheets' or stragula, it seems one might find the additional covering e.g. of lodices (Mart. 14.148, q.v. ad loc.; cf. 14.152), although apparently not here.

On the nap of gausapum, see at Mart. 14.145.1 'villorum gratia tanta'.

For details of Roman bedding, see R.E. IVA.169.51 ff. s.v. stragulum [Hug], Kl.P. 5.388.2 ff. s.v. stragulum [W.H.Gross], Blümner Priv. p.116, Carcopino p.171, Marquardt Prl. p.724 (not all of these authorities concur with the above remarks, but the evidence is too confused for their different explanations to be ruled out).

pupureis lucent...tapetis: Luceo is elsewhere used of material at Verg. A. 8.660 '(Galli) virgatis lucent sagulis'. On its use of other bright or coloured objects, see OLD s.v. luceo 82b, ThLL VII(2).1694.38 ff. s.v. luceo [B].

The term tapes was loosely used. Tapetia were generally thickly woven wall-hangings or furniture coverings, being often decorated with coloured figures (see D-S V p.43 col. 1 f. s.v. tapes [Maurice Besnier], L-S s.v. tapete, Kl.P. 5.514.52 ff. s.v. tapes [W.H.Gross]; cf. Verg. A. 7.277). They are not necessarily gausapum.

Gausapum was often purple, however: see R.E. VII.878.59 ff. s.v. gausape [Zahn] (citing e.g. Lucil. fr. 568, Hor. Serm. 2.8.11), L-S s.v. gausapa 81α, OLD s.v. gausape. (For purple dye, see Mart. 14.133.1 n. above, 154 and 156 below.)

Purple bed clothes signalled great extravagance (cf. the coverings of Julius Caesar's funeral couch: Suet. Jul. 84.1), and this epigram's gausapum would therefore have been doubly valuable.

2 si te congelat uxor anus: Anus is frequently used of a woman too old or unattractive for sexual activity. It is often abusive in the lower genres (cf. N-H at Hor. Carm. 1.25.9). The word regularly appears at the end of the pentameter, partly for metrical convenience although the emphasising potential of the position is generally exploited.

Anus does not often appear of an undesirable wife (for its adjectival use, see Friedländer at Mart. 1.39.2). It is more common for the poets to apply it with malicious satisfaction to a proud mistress who, ugly and unloved in later years, will come to regret her lost opportunities; cf. Prop. 3.25.16, Ovid Ars 3.69-70 'tempus erit, quo tu, quae nunc excludis amantes, / frigida deserta nocte iacebis anus'.

Congelat survives used in a similar way only at V.Fl. 3.577-8 'pectora nautis / congelat hiberni vultus Iovis' (ThLL IV.273.42 ff. s.v. congelare). The idea of coldness, usually expressed by frigidus, is common, however, in describing the sexually unwilling or inactive; cf. Ovid Am. 2.1.5 'me legat in sponsi facie non frigida virgo', Verg. G. 3.97. Frigidus is also used of those desiring but deprived of sex, or of their beds or the nights they spend in them; cf. Hor. Carm. 3.7.6, [Ovid] Am. 3.5.42, Ars 3.70 (quoted above), Ep. 1.7. Not only does the uxor in this epigram lack sexual ardour, but for all the warmth of the luxury gausapum bed clothes (see at Mart. 14.145.1e. n.), she freezes her husband into sexual indifference.

14.148 Lodices

So that the bedding does not show when your couch is bare, we sisters come to you joined together.

Concerning M's hendecasyllables, see Intro. 'Metre'.

le.: Lodices were small shaggy rugs, sometimes joined together to form a larger coverlet: hence 'iunctae...sorores'. They are paralleled with gausapum at Mart. 14.152, and must therefore be expensive (cf. GLK 1.104 'gausapes, lodices purpureas/ et colorias meas'). Consequently, a lacuna must exist between this epigram and Mart. 14.147 cubicularia gausapina. The missing epigram would possibly have described a small item of clothing (as do Mart. 14.149, 151, 153) in contrast to the bedding of the surrounding epigrams.

Lodices are bed clothes also at Juv. 6.195; but other uses were known: Augustus employed a lodricula as a sort of tracksuit during exercise (Suet. Aug. 83), and at Petr. 20.2 it is a kind of floor rug.

The lodix evidently came from Verona (Blümner Priv. p.239 n.3 citing Mart. 14.152). Quintilian states that Pollio's use of the word did not guarantee its respectability: Inst. 1.6.42. Colton collects lexical information on p.258; see too ThLL VII(2).1609.62 ff. s.v. lodix [B].

1: Regarding the stragulum, see Mart. 14.147.1 n. above. When covered only by stragula, but with no lodices, a bed was evidently nudus.

2 iunctae...sorores: Soror is often used of things joined or associated; cf. Catul. 66.51 'abiunctae...comae mea fata sorores/ lugebant', Callim. fr. 110.51 Pf., Plaut. Poen. 417-8 'obsecro te...hanc per dexteram/ perque hanc sororem laevam' and see OLD s.v. soror §3.

tibi venimus: venimus B^{CA}: caremus T unde cavimus Heinsius. Veni is used of gifts at Mart. 14.72.1 'venit...tibi', 99.1 veni; cf. 13.31.2 'tibi...venit'. Venimus cannot therefore be done away with here.

Nevertheless, Heinsius' attractive cavimus finds good support at Mart. 1.101.7 and 5.76.3. Although printing venimus, both Heraeus and Shackleton Bailey therefore regard the conjecture as possibly right.

14.149 A shawl

I fear busty women; give me to a tender girl so that my linen may enjoy a snow white breast.

le.: In classical Latin, amictorium survives only here and at P.Mich. 468.14. P.Mich. 468.14 suggests that the garment is a cape of sorts, worn by men; cf. Isid. Orig. 19.25.7 which compares the garment with an anaboladium, but in a section on cloaks for women. The content and context of Mart. 14.149 (cf. Mart. 14.151 zona, 153 semicinctium) does not suggest a cloak, however, but a garment which went around a girl's upper body. A shawl, perhaps? It was certainly not a brassière, as P.Mich. 468.14 makes clear (pace Marquardt Prl. p.484; cf. Blümner Priv. p.230, R.E. 1.1830.56 ff. s.v. amictorium [Maul]).

Given the difficulty in identifying the garment, evaluation is possible only by reference to the epigram's context. Seeing that Mart. 14.151 and 153 are P, as opposed to the intervening bedding, it seems likely that 149 is also P (despite lina, line 2).

For Saturnalian gifts for women, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' Section D.

1 mammosas metuo: This amictorium shares the general Roman preference for small breasts; see at Mart. 14.134.1 above.

Concerning the word mammosa, see Brown at Lucr. 4.1168 'at tumida et mammosa Ceres est ipsa ab Iaccho'. Brown observes that adjectives ending in -osus are often derogatory (see too his note at Lucr. 4.1161

nervosa), contrasting the complimentary mammeata (Plaut. Poen. 393) and mamnia (Plaut. Ps. 180). It is possible that lactating women are meant in this epigram, in contrast to the 'tenera puella'. The poem would then accord well with Mart. 14.151 (see at line 2).

tenerae puellae: Tener indicates softness, tenderness and delicacy, and therefore commonly denotes youth (OLD s.v. tener §2, L-S s.v. §B). Prepubescent girls would hold no fear for this amictorium.

2 niveo...pectore: Although dusky girls were not dismissed by all (see N-H at Hor. Carm. 2.4.3), a pale complexion was much admired: see Brown at Lucr. 4.1160 nigra, Murgatroyd at Tib. 1.4.12, Leary (1990)² p.153. Niveus is seldom, if ever, applied to an elderly breast.

lina: Italian linen was of poor quality. No doubt, it was used for such things as strainers (Mart. 14.103.2 lina above), sails, awnings and the like (compare Marquardt Prl. p.483). By the 1st Century A.D., however, Eastern conquests had opened the way for fine imported linen, much favoured by the Roman demi mondaine (Griffin p.10) and very expensive: at Cic. Verr. 5.146, linen is mentioned together with Tyrian purple, pearls and precious stones. (For the value of the material, see further Blümner, Priv. p.241). Given the tender girl envisaged by this epigram, fine linen would be most appropriate; but whatever the true nature of the amictorium here, it would probably not have required much material, and so the gift may still be regarded as P in contrast to the lodices of Mart. 14.148 or the cubicularia polymita of 14.150.

14.150 Damask coverlets

The land of Memphis gives you these gifts: the Babylonian needle is now surpassed by the comb of the Nile.

le. cubicularia polymita: On cubicularis, see Mart. 14.147. le. n. above. An Alexandrian invention (Pliny Nat. 8.196), and the glory of its cloth trade, polymita was, as its name suggests, a weave of several threads. From Pliny's description (loc. cit.), it would appear that damask is in question, a variety of twill in which, generally, four warp threads are intersected by the weft.

Polymita was multi-coloured: Isid. Inst. 19.22.21 'polymitus enim textus multorum colorum est', Marquardt Prl. p.531 n.6. Producing a multi-coloured weave demanded skill (Blümner Priv. p.256) and polymita was therefore not cheap. Carcopino is clearly right to think that cloths of polymita were used for coverlets (p.171): one would not hide their colours. Thus this epigram corresponds with Mart. 14.148 and 152.

Other references to polymita include Aesch. Supp. 432 πολυμίτων πέπλων (for the textual difficulties, see Johansen and Whittle ad loc.), Petr. 40.5, CIL 13.5708.II 27.

1 Menphitis tellus: Cf. Mart. 14.38.1 'Memphitica tellus' and Juv. 15.122 'terra Memphitide'.

Memphis was an important city 25 km (15 miles) south of the Nile delta (<Kl.P. 3.1192.24 s.v. Memphis [W.Helck]). Nevertheless, Memphis/Memphiticus are fairly rare words.

Choosing between the spellings Memphis and Menphis is difficult. Shackleton Bailey, Heraeus, the Loeb and the Budé prefer the former here, Lindsay the latter. The MSS support Men- here and at Mart. 6.80.3

(Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.30), but Mem- at Sp. 1.1 and 14.38.1. Inscriptions attest both forms: note e.g. Dessau 4367 (<Menphis>), 4368 (<Memphis>). The least arbitrary course of action in each instance appears to be to follow the MSS, which I do.

For a similar orthographical problem, see Coleman at Stat. Silv. 4.3.48 'crebris...gomphis'.

1-2 victa est/ pectine Niliaco iam Babylonos acus: While the Egyptians invented multi-coloured damask, multi-coloured embroidery was produced by Babylon (see below). Babylonian coverlets were very expensive: hence the impact of Lucretius' bed-wetting description (4.1029). Egyptian damask must have been at least equally costly. Victa est possibly refers to a change of fashion.

2 pectine Niliaco: Niliacus means 'Egyptian' at Ovid Ars 3.318 'Niliacis carmina lusa modis'; see generally L-S s.v. Nilus §II.2. At Sil. 11.430, Memphis is 'Nilotica'. Niliaco balances Babylonos (a Greek genitive) as pectine does acus in the pentameter's structure.

Fordyce gives details of the pecten at Verg. A. 7.14 'arguto tenuis percurrens pectine telas' (cf. G. 1.294 'arguto coniunx percurrit pectine telas'): it is either the shuttle (as at Verg. A. 7.14) or the comb whose teeth were inserted in the web to close up the cross threads of the weft (as at Ovid Met. 6.57 f. '(subtemen) inter stamina ductum/ percusso paviunt insecti pectine dentes'). Although either variety of pecten is possible, a shuttle seems most likely here, yielding a better contrast with the Babylonian acus.

Babylonos acus: Acus is regular of an embroidery needle: cf. Verg. A. 11.777 'pictus acu tunicas', 9.582. For Babylon's famous embroidery, cf. Mart. 8.28.17-18 'non ego praetulerim Babylonos picta superbae/ texta Samirania quae variantur acu'.

14.151 A girdle

I am long enough now; but if your stomach should swell with a sweet burden, I shall then become a short girdle for you.

le.: This zona (ζώνη), a girdle worn around the loins (Ovid Am. 1.7.48), is clearly a cheap gift in comparison with the expensive polymita of Mart. 14.150.

Often, the zona symbolises chastity (cf. Catul. 2.13, Ovid Met. 5.470; see OLD s.v. zona s2b, Kl.P. 5.1553.31 ff. zona [K.Abell]). Some humour is perhaps intended here: this zona will not fit well the unchaste girl.

Regarding Saturnalian presents for women, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D.

1: Nunc is countered by tunc (line 2), as is longa (first word of the poem) by brevis (last word).

1-2 dulci...pondere venter/ si tumeat: Venter is regular of the womb as is pondus of the foetus (cf. e.g. Ovid Met. 9.684 f., Ep. 11.37, Am. 2.14(15).13-16). Tumeo and tumescō frequently describe the swelling of pregnancy: cf. e.g. Sen. Dial. 12.16.3 'tumescentem uterum' and see Brown at Lucr. 4.1168 tumida (Bernay's emendation of lamina OQ).

Dulcis occurs of the weight of the womb also at Ovid Ep. 6.120 and A.L. 1514.5 Buecheler. At e.g. Hor. Epod. 2.40 and Lucr. 3.895, it is

used of children. Applications of dulcis to people in general are listed at ThLL V(1).2194.34 ff. s.v. dulcis [Lackenbacher].

2 fiam tunc tibi zona brevis: This zona's unsuitability to a woman swollen by pregnancy possibly recalls the amictorium's apprehension concerning bosomy women at Mart. 14.149.1, q.v. ad loc.

14.152 A squared frieze rug

The land of learned Catullus sends you lodices. We are from the region of Helicaeon.

le. gausapum quadratum: Without the lemma, the reader would not know what the epigram was describing; compare the epigrams listed at Mart.

14.2.3 n. above.

Concerning gausapum and its expense, see Mart. 14.145.1e. n.

Quadratum is a general word meaning 'squared'. See L-S s.v. quadratus SA, OLD s.v. quadratus S3a. It is used of a pallium at Petr. 135.4.

1: For the lodix, see Mart. 14.148.1e. n. above. This epigram suggests that gausapum could be used for coverlets as well as stragula (as at Mart. 14.147).

docti tibi terra Catulli: i.e. Verona; cf. Mart. 14.100.1 above, q.v. ad loc. on doctus.

For mitto of exports, see Mart. 14.114.2 n. above.

2 Helicaonia de regio: i.e. Patavium (Padua), founded by Antenor (Verg. A. 1.247), father of Helicaeon (Paus. 10.26.7). M. is perhaps trying ironically to reflect Catullan doctrina here by using periphrasis to describe not Veronese lodices but Paduan gausapum.

Helicaonius is without parallel, but cf. Mart. 10.93.1 'Helicaonis oras'.

Thick Patavian tunics are described at Mart. 14.143 above. These were not gausapum, however, being trilix; see at Mart. 14.143.1.

14.153 A belt

Let a rich man give a tunic: I can gird you. If I were rich, I would give both gifts.

le. semicinctium: In Classical Latin, this word survives here and at Petr. 94.8 'inclusus ego suspensio vitam finire constitui. et iam semicinctio <lecti> stantis ad parietem spondam vinxeram cervicesque nodo condebam, cum...'. Isid. Orig. 19.33.1 'cinctus est lata zona, et minus lata semicinctium, et utrisque minima cingulum' identifies the garment as a belt (well suited to suicides by hanging) and therefore establishes a connection between this epigram and Mart. 14.151 zona (which could also be used for hangings: Lucke at Ovid Rem. 602). The male zona was used to support a tunic: OLD s.v. zona 81; cf. Plaut. Pers. 154-5 'cape/ tunicam atque zonam'. Σιμικίνθια at Acts 19.12 has usually been taken to mean 'aprons' (cf. the Loeb's translation here); but see now Leary JTS 41(1990) pp. 527-9.

1 det tunicam locuples: The semicinctium must be cheap, like the zona at Mart. 14.151. For the tunic, which it would normally have accompanied,

cf. at Mart. 14.143. le. above. With locuples, cf. line 2 'essem si locuples'.

Praecingere means 'gird all round', not 'in front' (Loeb); cf. Plaut. Bac. 432 'cincticulo praecinctus', Ovid Trist. 2.271 (of a sword belt), Cic. ap. Non. 538.12M (of a strophium), and see OLD s.v. praecingo §1a.

2 essem si locuples: Cf. Mart. 14.132.1 'si possem' above. The positioning of essem emphasises that the giver is not rich.

14.154-158:

These epigrams deal with wool. Wool was possibly of more interest to women than men. Regarding Saturnalian gifts for women, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D.

14.154 Amethyst coloured wools

When I am drunk with the blood of the Sidonian shell, I do not see why I should be called 'sober wool'.

le. lanæ amethystinae: Cf. 'sobria lana', line 2: for all its name, 'unintoxicated', this wool, having been soaked in dye the colour of amethyst, is ebria (line 1).

This epigram belongs to that group of riddling epigrams where, without the lemma, the nature of the gift described would be a puzzle; see at Mart. 14.2.3 above.

A similar joke on 'amethyst' occurs e.g. at A.P. 9.752.1-2:

εἰμὶ μέθη τὸ γλύμμα σοφῆς χερὸς, ἐν δ' ἄμεθύστῳ
γέγλυμμαι· τέχνης δ' ἡ λίθος ἀλλοτρίη.

Cf. 9.748:

ἡ λίθος ἔστι ἀμέθυστος, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πότης Δίονυσος·
ἢ νήφειν πείσῃ μ', ἢ μαθέτω μεθύειν.

For the production of amethyst purple, see Pliny Nat. 9.135. It was very valuable: cf. Mart. 2.57.2 and see Courtney at Juv. 7.136. Pliny offers several etymologies for 'amethyst', e.g. that the colour approaches but does not quite match that of wine (Nat. 37.121) or that the amethyst stone prevents drunkenness (Nat. 37.124). None convinces.

1: Ebrius meaning 'imbued' or 'soaked with' does not survive in many places outside Martial: see OLD s.v. ebrius §3; cf. Sid. App. 15.129 'ebria nec solum spirat conchyliis sandyx'. Nevertheless, the point of M's joke is plain.

Sidoniae...de sanguine conchae: Amethyst purple and Tyrian purple were not the same: Sidoniae is used loosely here. (On Tyrian purple, see at Mart. 14.133.1 aheno above, 156 below.)

Given the colour of purple dye, that sanguis should be used of it is not surprising; cf. Pliny Nat. 9.135. The reverse, that purple dye could represent blood, is also true: consider the imagery of Aeschylus' Agamemnon, consulting O. Taplin, The Stagecraft of Aeschylus, Oxford 1977, p. 315.

14.155 White wools

Apulia is renowned for the best wools, Parma for the second best. Its sheep, coming third, praises Altinum.

le. lanae albae: No white dyes existed as such and wools in their

natural colours are probably meant here. Natural whites could, however, be enhanced by ground calcium carbonate or the like.

1: Apulia is a region of S.E. Italy. Concerning its wool, see D-S III(2) p. 918 col. 2 s.v. lana [Henry Thédénat] and R.E. II.289.44 ff. s.vv. Apuli, Apulia [Hülsem], which cites e.g. Varro L. 9.39, Mart. 8.28.3. Cf. also Pliny Nat. 8.190. On primis meaning 'best' vel sim., see Mart. 14.158.2 n. below.

Parma, a city in Cispadine Gaul (Pliny Nat. 3.115), was famous for its sheep: Mart. 2.43.3-4 'te Lacedaemonio velat toga lota Galaeso/ vel quam seposito de grege Parma dedit', 5.13.7-8 'magnaue Niliacae servit tibi gleba Syenes/ tondet et innumeros Gallica Parma greges'. Livy describes the foundation of the city at 39.55.6 ff.

2 Altinum tertia laudat ovis: i.e. this epigram's gift consists of third best wool from Altinum.

Altinum (Altino) was a municipium in Venetia on the road from Patavium (Padua) to Aquileia. Although classed as third in this epigram, wool from Altinum was not poor quality (for the area's valuable sheep, see Col. RR. 7.2.3); but in comparison with the amethyst purple of Mart. 14.154, it was a cheap gift.

14.156 Tyrian Wool

A herdsman gave us to a Spartan girl: the purple of her mother Leda was inferior.

le. lanae Tyriae: On Tyrian purple, see above at Mart. 14.133.1 aheno.

Tyrian purple was the finest produced in Asia, Laconian (= Spartan) the finest in Europe (Pliny Nat. 9.127). Tyrian purple was more admired than European. It was very valuable: Mart. 8.10 describes a Tyrian lacerna worth 10 000 sesterces. This is a rich man's gift.

M. suggests in this epigram that Helen of Troy sold herself to the highest bidder. He uses the name Helen to characterise an unfaithful wife at 1.62.6.

1 Lacedaemoniae...amicae: Helen came from Sparta, where she later had a cult; cf. Verg. A. 2.577-8 'scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenae/ aspiciet?', 6.511, Hor. Carm. 3.3.25, Eurip. Andr. 486 ἡ Ἀχαιῖνα, Enn. Trag. 49 Jocelyn 'Lacedaemonia mulier'. Helen's Homeric epithet 'Argive' (e.g. Il. 2.161) does not denote strict geographical origins. Willcock comments ad loc. that 'Homer can use "Argos" for at least the whole Peloponnese, and the title Argives for all the Greeks'.

pastor: i.e. Paris; cf. Hor. Carm. 1.15.1 f. 'pastor cum traheret per freta/...Helenen' and see N-H in some detail ad loc. It was as a βουκόλος that Paris delivered his famous judgment (cf. Prop. 2.2.13 f. 'cedite iam, divae, quas pastor viderat olim/ Idaeis tunicas ponere verticibus'), the judgement for which he was rewarded by Aphrodite with the gift of Helen; see OCD² s.v. Paris, Roscher s.v. Paris III.1586.33 ff. [Höfer]. The earliest surviving reference to the judgment is Homer Il. 24.28 ff., although the story must have been well known before that.

2 deterior Ladae purpura matris erat: Helen was daughter of Leda and Zeus; see at Mart. 14.175.2 below. No tradition survives of Leda's

giving Spartan purple to Helen, but there is no reason why M. should not have invented such a gift for the purposes of this epigram: the decorated veil at Verg. *A.* 1.647 ff. was there to ease the fiction:

munera praeterea Iliacis erepta ruinis
ferre iubet, pallam signis auroque rigentem
et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho,
ornatus Argivae Helenae, quos illa Mycenis,
Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque hymenaeos,
extulerat, matris Ladae mirabile donum.

14.157 Wool from Pollentia

This land is accustomed to give not only wools which mourn with dark fleece, but also its cups.

le.: For details of Pollentia (Pollenza), see R.E. XXI(2).1409.55 ff. s.v. Pol(l)entia [Gerhard Rankel]. It was famed for its black wool (note pullo, line 1), which here balances Mart. 14.155 lanae albae, both wools being paired with expensive purples. This is a poor man's gift.

Reference is made elsewhere to Pollentian wool e.g. at Col. RR. 7.2.4 and Sil. 8.597. See too Marquardt Prl. p.478.

The adjective Pollentinus recurs at Suet Tib. 37.3; cf. Pliny Nat. 3.111.

1-2 non tantum.../sed...et: Were it not for the lemma, readers might assume from the wording of this epigram a gift not of wool but of cups ('calices...suos', line 2). M's intention was possibly to achieve a contrast between the funereal colour of the wool (see below) and the jollity implied by drinking vessels.

Regarding the calix, see Mart. 14.94.le. n. above. Pliny refers to Pollentian cups at Nat. 35.160.

1 pullo lugentes vellere lanas: Lugentes is transferred from the mourners to their clothes. Regarding the dark and dingy colour signified by pullus, see André Couleur pp. 71-2, N-H I p.298. For the sombre clothing worn at funerals, cf. Prop. 4.7.27-8 'denique quis nostro curvum te funere vidit,/ atram quis lacrimis incaluisse togam', Apul. Met. 2.23, Varro ap. Non. 549.31M; see OLD s.v. pullus² §1b..

14.158 The same

My wool is indeed sorrowful, but it is suited to shaven servants such as the table summons, but not from the first rank.

le.: For lanae Pollentinae, see at Mart. 14.157 le.

1 lana...tristis: i.e. funereal. See at Mart. 14.157.1 'pullo lugentes vellere lanas'.

sed tonsis nata ministris: Smart slave boys had long hair: Mart. 2.57.5 'quem grex togatus sequitur et capillatus', 3.58.31; see Duff at Juv. 3.186 (for ministri of table-slaves, see OLD s.v. minister §1a). These slaves were inferior.

Given quidem, the adversative sed is plainly preferable to et, C^a. Dark colours were habitually worn by the lowly and poor: see André Couleur p.72, L-S s.v. 3 pullus §1; cf. Suet. Aug. 44.2 (pullati were relegated to the back of the amphitheatre). Therefore, although funereal, Pollentian wool is nonetheless well suited to second rate serving slaves.

nata Scriverius: neta M (-ca T): apta B^aC^a. Heraeus rightly favours nata, suspecting apta as a gloss; cf. Ovid Met. 2.223 'natusque ad sacra

Cithaeron' (aptus N²). Neta, 'spun', weakens the thrust of 'quidem...sed' (and so Mauriz Schuster has no case in defending it by reference to Pliny Nat. 33.62, dig. 32.70.2: RhM 75(1926) pp.351-2).

2 non prima de grege: Grex is common of groups of slaves: cf. Mart. 2.57.5, 10.98.8. Primus regularly means 'best' vel sim.: cf. Mart. 11.27.11, 12.66.5, 14.155.1 above; see Citroni at Mart. 1.51.1, I.Kroll, Glotta 5(1914) p.361. The litotes here reinforces the inferior nature of these close-cropped ministri.

Second rate slaves would probably have served inferior guests; although Seneca decried the gradation of amici (Ben. 6.33.4-34.5), his was a lone voice: for the dinner table apartheid enforced by some hosts, see Pliny Ep. 2.6, Juv. 5.

14.159-162: These epigrams deal with cushion fillings vel. sim.

14.159 Leuconican stuffing

. Is the bed-girth too close to the packed feather mattress? Accept fleeces clipped from Leuconican cloaks.

le. tomentum Leuconicum: Concerning tomentum, see generally R.E. VIA.1698.56 ff. s.v. tomentum [Gertrud Herzog-Hauser], Carcopino p.171, Blümner Priv. p.115, Marquardt Prl. p.724, C.L.Ransom, Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans, Chicago 1905, p.70. Materials used for stuffing included wool, feathers, hair and straw. Regarding the use of wool, see especially R.E. loc. cit. p.1699.19 ff., 48 ff.

The Leucones were a Gallic tribe. Leuconicus is used again (there as a n. substantive) of wool for pillow-stuffing at Mart. 11.21.8 'culcita

Leuconico...viduata suo'; cf. Mart. 14.160.2 below, where 'haec pro Leuconico stramina pauper emit' clearly identifies Leuconican stuffing as costly.

Gallic wool was generally highly valued: Kay at Mart. 11.56.9 citing Col. RR. 7.2.3, Pliny Nat. 8.190 'alba [lanal Circumpadanis nulla praefertur'; cf. Hor. Carm. 3.16.35 f. Luxury bedding clearly appealed to the Romans: Richter p.135.

1 nimum vicina est fascia: Fascia occurs commonly of the webbing on bedsteads: cf. Mart. 5.62.5-6, Cic. Div. 2.134 'somniasse se ovum pendere ex fascea lecti sui cubicularis' with Pease ad loc., CGL 3.321.6 'xίπiα: fastialecti'; see D-S II(2) p.1021 col. 1 and n.7 s.v. lectus [P.Girard]. Fasciae were made e.g. of leather or flax cords (Ransom op.cit. p.63). They were also called lora or institae.

oppressae...plumae: Details concerning the cost of feather beds appear at Mart. 14.161.le below. These feathers have become packed and hard, requiring another covering (also expensive) to cushion the bed-girths. Opprimo in this sense is common: OLD s.v. opprimo §1.

2 vellera Leuconicis accipe rasa sagis: Concerning equal pentameter halves, see Intro. 'Metre' above.

Friedländer interprets the pentameter thus, that the recipient is invited to take for bed-stuffing fleeces intended for garments. But rado is not used of shearing (OLD and L-S s.v. rado). Rather, OLD s.v. rado §3b is surely correct to apply the word to the clipping of a fabric's pile to make it smoother, thinner and lighter: note the toga rasa, a

summer garment introduced under Augustus (Pliny Nat. 8.195; cf. Mart. 2.85.4 'rasam tu mihi mitte togam', Juv. 2.97). Rather than waste these clippings, they are used to stuff cushions.

Leuconicis...sagis: Being a Gallic loan word, sagum is used appropriately with Leuconicus. It refers to a woollen cloak (cf. Mart. 8.58) usually worn e.g. by soldiers and barbarians (Blümner Priv. pp.216-7). It is perhaps ironic that quality pillow stuffing should come from a traditionally low-class garment, but in the course of being clipped, the cloak would have become finer, and the luxury sagum was not unknown (Wilson Clothing p.107). General information about the garment can be found at R.E. IA.1754.9 ff. s.v. sagum [Fiebiger], D-S V(2) p.108 col.1 s.v. sagum [H.Thédenet], Wilson Clothing pp.104-9, Kl.P. 4.1499.58 ff. s.v. sagum [W.H.Gross].

14.160 Circensian stuffing

Cut marsh-reed is called Circensian stuffing. The poor man buys this bedding instead of Leuconican.

le. tomentum Circense: Regarding cushioning materials, see generally Mart. 14.159. le. n. above.

Cut reed was apparently used for sitting on by the common people at the circus - hence circense; see Friedländer SG. II p.36 and cf. Sen. Dial. 7.25.2. Carcopino describes the seats of the Circus Maximus in the 1st Century as being of marble in the lowest tier, of wood in the second (p.236). Neither would have been soft. See too Courtney at Juv. 6.353, and cf. Ovid Ars 1.160: cushions at the races. Use of reeds as

cushioning by the poor would not have been confined to the circus, however.

1 concisa palus: Palus meaning 'reed' appears to survive only in M.: OLD s.v. palus² §3; cf. Mart. 11.32.2 'nec tibi de bibula sarta palude teges'. On the metonymy, see Friedländer at Mart. 3.82.22. Not unlike this use of palus is that at Mart. 14.38.2 above: although 'marshland' is a possible translation there, the poet is thinking in particular of the reeds which grow in this marshland.

In the absence of parallels, concisa is difficult (ThLL IV.34.16 s.v. concido [Hey] is wrong to compare Pelag. 204 'et scillam albam harundine in partes concisa...torrent'): given stramina (line 2), these reeds cannot have been chopped up into small lengths to fill a cushion vel sim., as the lemma's tomentum (cf. tumeo) apparently suggests to Blümner, Priv. p.115, and Marquardt, Prl. p.724. Cut thus, they would be uncomfortable to sit on. Rather, they must have been harvested in lengths whose resilience would have a cushioning effect. They might also have been split lengthways, as with African matting, although there is no evidence for this. Whatever the case, however, tomentum is used loosely, indicating that reeds are the poor man's substitute for proper cushions.

2: Stramen is straw or litter, or anything spread under something. It is used of lowly bedding at Ovid Ep. 5.15; cf. Pliny Nat. 8.193 'antiquis enim torus e stramento erat, qualiter etiam nunc in castris'. Emit. like circense (le.), suggests an urban context.

14.161 A feather bed

Tired out, you will be able to rest on an Amyclaeon feather bed which the inner down of the swan has given you.

le. pluma: Feathers were a luxury pillow stuffing: see R.E. VIA.1699.66 ff. s.v. tomentum [Gertrud Herzog-Hauser], XXI(1).612.19 ff. s.v. plumae [Karl Scherling], Courtney at Juv. 1.159, 6.88; cf. Mart. 12.17.8 'dormit...in pluma', Lucil. 277 'pluma atque amphitapoe et si aliud quid deliciarum', Juv. 10.362.

Counter to the claim made in this epigram, those with feather beds are often said to be unable to sleep: cf. Mart. 9.92.3 f., Sen. Dial. 1.3.10 '(Maecenas) tam vigilabit in pluma quam ille (Regulus) in cruce'. For the easy sleep of the poor, see Mart. 14.162.2 n. below.

1 Amyclaea...pluma: These feathers come from a swan (cf. cycni, line 2): Zeus adopted the form of a swan to rape Leda, and, according to the version, begat Helen and one or both of the Dioscuri. Leda's husband, again according to the version, begat the other in the same night. Amyclae was the city in Laconia where Castor and Pollux were born (cf. Stat. Theb. 7.413 'Amyclaeos...fratres'). For the story and its variants, see Roscher II.1922.32 ff. s.v. Leda [Höfer, Bloch], OCD² s.vv. Dioscuri, Leda, Kl.P. 3.531.48 ff. s.v. Leda [H. von Geisaul].

The bird in question is probably the Mute Swan; see Pollard p.64, Roger Peterson et al., A Field Guide to the Birds of Britain and Europe,² London 1974, p.42.

2 interior...lana: Lana can be used of down other than sheep's wool: OLD s.v. lana s3a; cf. Ulp. dig. 32.1.70.9 'lana legata etiam leporinam

lanam et anserinam et caprinam credo contineri et de ligno, quam ἐπιόξυλον appellant'. Inner feathers are softest; cf. Pliny Nat. 10.54 (of goose feathers) 'mollior quae corpori proxima (sc. pluma)'. The feathers of swans, who are more exotic than geese, were no doubt more expensive.

quam A⁴C⁴: quas B⁴. Quas cannot be right given pluma (line 1). The singular pluma commonly denotes the many feathers of a bed: cf. Sen. Dial. 1.3.10, Mart. 12.17.8 (both quoted above).

14.162 Hay

Let your crushed pillow swell, your mule deprived: pale care does not come to hard couches.

le. faenum: Straw pillow-stuffing was cheap, as opposed to the expensive feathers of Mart. 14.161, and faenum corresponds with the reeds of Mart. 14.160. Simple straw bedding appears at Ovid Ep. 5.15 'faeno...iacentibus alto', although that straw was probably loose rather than stuffing pillows. General discussions are given at R.E. VIA.1699.21 ff. s.v. tomentum [Gertrud Herzog-Hauser], Blümner Priv. p.115, Marquardt Prl. p.724, D-S III(2) p.102 col. 1 s.v. lectus [P.Girard].

1 tumeat fragilis tibi culcita: Cf. Mart. 11.56.9 'Leuconicis agedum tumeat tibi culcita lanis', Apul. Met. 10.34 'lectus...plumea congerie tumidus'; cf. turgeo of a stuffed ball at Mart. 14.45.1 above. Contrast the empty culcita at Mart. 5.62.5.

With culcita, cf. the Italian cóltrice. Varro gives an etymology (L. 5.167): 'quod in eas acus aut tomentum aliudve quid calcabant, ab

inculcando culcita dicta'; cf. Isid. Orig. 19.26.4 'culcitae vocatae quod calcentur, id est farciantur, pluma sive tomento, quo molliores calidioresque sint' and see Blümner Priv. p.115.

Fragilis (from frango) can mean 'rustling' or 'crackling', as at Lucr. 6.112 'fragilis <sonitus> chartarum'; cf. Verg. Ecl. 8.82 'fragilis..laurus'. Note, however, Gronovius, cited by Friedländer ad loc., who remarks (Obs. IV.22) 'torus fragilis qui statim frangitur et subsidit', comparing Mart. 2.59.3 'frange toros, pete vina, rosas cape, tinguere nardo:/ ipse iubet mortis te meminisse deus' and 4.8.6 'imperat extructos frangere nona toros': in both of these cases, frango means 'crush down'. If fragilis has this sense here, it is attractively juxtaposed with tumeat.

fraudata...mula: The rich man would feed his mule barley. So poor is this man, however, that if he is to have hay for his bedding, his mule must go hungry (concerning fodder, see K.D.White, Farming p.202). No doubt what barley he could afford he would eat himself.

Mart. 13.11 hordeum speaks of mules deprived of their barley by a muleteer who does not eat it himself but sells it to an inn-keeper:

mulio quod non det tacituris, accipe, mulis.
haec ego coponi, non tibi, dona dedi.

2 non venit ad duros pallida cura toros: i.e. despite his poverty (or perhaps because of it), this poor man will sleep easily in his hard bed, having nothing to make him grow pale with worry. The sentiment is commonplace; cf. Hor. Carm. 3.1.21 ff. '...somnus agrestium/ lenis virorum non humilis domos/ fastidit umbrosamque ripam,/ non Zephyris agitata Tempe', Epicurus fr. 48 (Bailey) κρείττον δέ σοι θαρρῆν ἐπὶ

στιβάδος κατακειμένη ἢ ταραττεσθαι χρυσὴν ἐχούση κλίνην καὶ πολυτελῆ τράπεζαν; see N-H at Hor. Carm. 2.16.15. Contrast the insomnia of the wealthy: see Mart. 14.161.1e. n. above.

For pallidus used poetically of things associated with or causing pallor, see OLD s.v. pallidus §1b.

14.163 A bell

Put aside the ball: the brass bell of the hot baths is sounding. You continue playing? You want to go off home washed in the aqua Virgo only.

1e. The onomatopoeic tintin(n)abulum is the usual name for a bell (M. probably spelled the word with a single n: Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.60); cf. e.g. Suet. Aug. 91.2, Pliny Nat. 36.92, Juv. 6.441. This epigram is our only literary evidence for bells signalling the opening of baths, apparently when the water was hot enough: hence specifically thermarum, line 1. (It is also the only evidence that one was allowed into the palaestra before the baths proper opened.) Cf., however, M.G. Perrot, RA 1879(1), pp.208-9: a tomb inscription with depictions of the gymnasiarch's equipment, including his bell.

As to what time the bath complexes opened and closed, there is great uncertainty, save that bathing was usually an afternoon activity (at any rate for men; where mixed bathing was forbidden, e.g. in the main baths at Rome (Griffin p.89), women might bath in the morning had they not separate facilities). Carcopino, pp. 280-281, and Balsdon, LL. p.28 f., provide discussion. Most bathing was done about the 8th hour when the temperature was just right (cf. Mart. 10.48.3-4), but Juvenal suggests that a friend bath as early as the 5th on a festā (Courtney suggests at Juv. 11.204-6 that this might have been in a private bath, but see

Intro. 'Saturnalia' section B) while lamps excavated from the baths at Pompeii indicate night-time bathing: Balsdon LL. p.29 n.72; see too Mart. 14.60.2 n. above; cf. Mart. 3.36.5-6 'lassus ut in thermas decuma vel serius hora/ te sequar Agrippae'.

Concerning bells generally and for their other uses, see R.E. VIA.1406.29 ff. s.v. tintinnabulum [Gertrud Herzog-Hauser], esp. 1409.33 ff. D-S has a long and full discussion including illustrations s.v. tintinnabulum (V p.341 col. 1 ff. [Ém. Espérandieul]). Establishing the value of this bronze bell is impossible except by position, in which case this is an expensive gift (since most bells were bronze (D-S loc. cit. p.341 col. 1), aes is no clue).

1 redde pilam: Cf. Mart. 14.46.2.n. above. Reddo might mean 'give back' (e.g. to the owner) or 'put aside'; but either way, a cessation of play is indicated (concerning Roman balls and ball games, see Mart. 14.45-8 above).

2 Virgine vis sola lotus abire domum: If one did not respond to the bell immediately, it appears that one was unlikely to get a hot bath, perhaps because of crowding or because the supply of water was limited.

Virgine refers to the Aqua Virgo (now the Trevi Fountain) which fed the baths of Agrippa (completed in 19 B.C.) and specifically here the frigidarium. The Aqua Virgo was notoriously cold (cf. Ovid Ars 3.385 gelidissima) and provided popular bathing in summer (Ovid Trist. 3.12.21). A contrast is intended between virgine and thermarum.

Regarding the Aqua Virgo, see Kay at Mart. 11.47.6 and T.Ashby, The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome, Oxford 1935, pp.167 ff. (who is surprised

that the Ancients thought the water so cold given the temperature of the colder Aqua Marcia). See too Nash I plates 51-2. According to Frontinus (Aq. 1.10), the Aqua Virgo was so named by thirsty soldiers who were guided there by a young girl. Pliny, Nat. 31.42, offers a different etymology: 'iuxta est Herculaneus rivus, quem refugiens Virginis nomen obtinuit'.

14.164 A discus

When the gleaming weight of the Spartan disc flies, stand far off, boys: let him cause harm but once.

le. discus: Throwing the discus is an age old activity. Homer describes the Phaeacians as practising the sport (Od. 8.129) in which, naturally, Odysseus excelled (Od. 8.186 ff.).

Harris gives a brief note on discus-throwing (p.38 f.); on the technique, see further Gardiner ch. 11 and the detailed discussion, with illustrations, in D-S, II(1) p.277 col. 1 ff. s.v. discus [E.Sagliol].

Valuing this discus is difficult except by position, in which case it is not expensive. As at Mart. 14.163, construction from metal (note splendida) gives no clue: although originally made of stone, the discus was always made of metal in later times.

The word discus can sometimes mean 'gong'; see OLD s.v. discus §2b and see Shackleton Bailey's apparatus ad loc. Shackleton Bailey follows Heraeus in citing the meaning 'gong' to provide a connection with Mart. 14.163 tintinabulum. This is difficult to accept, however: the epigram is not about a gong, but a discus for throwing. The only connection between this epigram and Mart. 14.163 appears to be an association with

the baths. (Regarding the possibility of textual misordering at this point, see Intro. 'Order' n.2.)

1 splendida cum volitant Spartani pondera disci: With splendidus, cf. Sil. 14.505-6 'seu splendentem...exigeret discum'; with pondera, cf. Prop. 3.14.10 'missile nunc disci pondus in orbe rotat'. Volito has connotations of swiftness: OLD s.v. volito s2a. At Verg. A. 7.378 it is used of a top.

2 este procul, pueri: Heinsius suggested ite, prompted perhaps by te, C^a; cf. Mart. 14.47.1 'ite procul', Ovid Met. 13.466, Calp. Ecl. 2.55.

Este, TB^a, is also common with procul, however: cf. Verg. A. 6.258, Ovid Am. 2.1.3, Met. 10.300. Having majority MS support, it is to be preferred here.

Sit semel ille nocens refers to the death of Hyacinthus, struck by Apollo's discus (see at Mart. 14.173.le. below). The epigram's point is that one such death is enough.

Hyacinthus had a cult in Amyclae and various Dorian cities had months named after him (Kl.P. 2.1254.22 ff. s.v. Hyakinthos [H.V.Gams], OCD² s.v. Hyacinthus). This Dorian connection accounts for Spartani, line 1.

Instead of the personifying ille, C^a reads illa, an error no doubt influenced by 'splendida...pondera'.

14.165 A cithara

The cithara restored Eurydice to the poet: but he himself lost her while he did not believe in himself and did not love patiently.

le.: The cithara developed from the lyre. It had a larger sounding box than the lyre, and was consequently more sonorous. It was either plucked by the left hand, or played by the right hand, usually holding a plectrum (for which see Mart. 14.167.le. n. below). It is here an R gift, in contrast to Mart. 14.167. In general, see R.E. XII.207.42 ff. s.v. kythera [Prehn], OCD² s.v. 'music' 89.

1-2: This epigram refers to a version of the Orpheus and Eurydice story which does not survive in literature earlier than Virgil, G. 4.453-527: Eurydice dies of snake bite. Orpheus follows her to the Underworld where he secures her from death provided that, when returning to the world above, he does not look back at her. He does and so loses her. On Virgil's treatment and influences, see Thomas and Mynors ad loc.; in general, see Roscher III.1157.32 ff. s.v. Orpheus [O. Gruppel].

While following this Virgilian version, M. stresses that Eurydice's loss was due to human weakness (see below): the cithara did all that was required of it.

M. handles the Orpheus myth again at Mart. 14.166 (on which see below) and Sp. 21, 21b. For general discussion, see Weinreich, Studien pp.39-48. On Sp. 21, see K.M.Coleman, 'Fatal charades: Roman executions staged as mythological enactments', JRS 80(1990), pp. 62-3: a criminal 'damnatus ad bestias' is dressed as Orpheus and sent to the arena where he fails to charm the bear that kills him. Although Sp. 21b is not properly understood, it is likely that, as do M's other Orpheus treatments, it too contains a wry or sardonic twist. The other mythological story treated in both Sp. and Mart. 14 is that of Hero and Leander: see Mart. 14.181 below.

1 reddidit Eurydicen vati: Cf. Verg. G. 4.486 'redditaque Eurydice'. Reddidit finds strong contrast, heightened by ipse, in the internally rhyming perdidit (cf. Verg. G. 4.494-5 'quis et me...miseram et te perdidit, Orpheu, / quis tantus furor?'): Eurydice was lost by Orpheus, not his instrument. Perdo has connotations of squandering possibly relevant here (see L-S s.v. perdo §1, OLD s.v. perdo §6a): Eurydice need not have been sent back.

Vates is used disparagingly in Ennius and Lucretius of early singers (see L-S s.v. vates (who cite Monro at Lucr. 1.102) and Skutsch at Enn. Ann. 207). It is tempting to think that M. uses vates here to indicate Orphic foolishness in looking back: although Virgil gave vates respectable status (Monro loc. cit., J.K.Newman, The Concept of Vates in Augustan Poetry, Brussels 1967, p.100), the word was later deflated by satirists. See Newman op. cit. pp. 125-6, Courtney at Juv. 1.18.

2 dum sibi non credit: Dum with the present tense to mean 'during the time that' or 'while' is usual, irrespective of the main verb's tense: see H-Sz II p.613, Woodcock §221 n.1. For this use of credo with the dative to mean 'believe in one's self' or 'trust one's convictions', see L-S s.v. credo §Cd. Orpheus presumably wanted to check that Eurydice was actually there.

nec patienter amat: Cf. Verg. G. 4.488 'cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem', 4.495 furor, Ovid Met. 10.56-7 'hic, ne deficeret, metuens avidusque videndi / flexit amans oculos'. While traditionally able to control nature through the power of his lyre (see at Mart. 14.166.2 n. below), Orpheus was unable to control the love by which he

was driven to look back. The impatience of the lover was proverbial: cf. Ovid Ep. 19.4 'non patienter amo', Am. 2.5.26, Ars 1.420, 3.88, Fast. 4.153.

14.166 The same

The instrument which drew after it woods and stayed wild beasts is often thrown out of the Pompeian theatre.

le. idem: Concerning the cithara, see Mart. 14.165. le. n.

1 saepe est electa: Electa (codd.) has little point. Electa, ed. Farrariensis 1471, allows a satisfactory contrast of lyre-playing skills, past and present: while Orpheus charmed nature, the modern lyre-player is booed off stage.

Roman audiences were vocal and quick to show their appreciation or otherwise of a performance. Heraeus compares the auct. ad Her. 4.60: 'si...vocem mittat acerbissimam cum turpissimo corporis motu, quo melius ornatus et magis fuerit expectatus, eo magis derisus et contemptus eicitur' and Petr. 92.6 'et postquam de balneo [tamquam de theatro] electus sum,...'. See too W.Beare, The Roman Stage, London 1968, p.173, Balsdon LL. pp.273, 276.

de Pompeiano...theatro: The outline of this theatre is preserved by the arrangement of modern buildings on the site: Nash II plate 1217. One of Rome's three theatres, it was built in 55 B.C., in the same year as Pompey's portico: see further Platner Ashby pp. 515 ff., Nash II p. 423 ff.

2 Quae duxit silvas detinuitque feras: Cf. Prop. 3.2.1-2 'Orphea detinuisse feras et concita dicunt/ flumina Threicia sustinuisse lyra', Ovid Ars 3.321-2 'saxa ferasque lyra movit Rhodopeius Orpheus/ Tartareosque lacus tergeminumque canem', Hor. Ars 391 ff. 'silvestris homines sacer interpresque deorum/ caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,/ dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones', Carm. 3.11.13-14.

As in Mart. 14.165, so similarly here, the suggestion might be that the cithara itself is sound: it once enchanted nature and wild beasts; but the players of M's day, being inferior to Orpheus, are faulty (cf. Sp. 21a).

14.167 plectrum

Lest an angry blister rise on your worn thumb, let shining plectra enhance your well-trained lyre.

le. plectrum: This is a P gift which complements the citharae of Mart. 14.165-6. For other complementary epigram pairs, see Mart. 14.31.le. n. above.

Ovid refers to the use of a plectrum for lyre-playing at Ars 3.319-320: 'nec plectrum dextra, citharam tenuisse sinistra/ nesciat arbitrio femina docta meo'. See too R.E. XXI(1).188.49 ff. s.v. plectrum [K.Schneider]. D-S III(2) p.1446 s.v. lyra [Th. Reinach] provides illustrations.

The singular plectrum is inconsistent with plectra, line 2. For other such numerical discrepancies, see Mart. 14.21.le. n. above.

1 fervida ne trito...pollice pusula surgat: If the player did not have a plectrum, then he would strike the strings with his thumb; cf. Ovid Fast. 2.108 'reddidit icta suos pollice chorda sonos'. Sores were a natural consequence. (Pollex survives of a plectrum at Stat. Silv. 5.5.31 'tremulas nec eburno pollice chordas pulso', but not elsewhere).

Tritus is used of part of the body again e.g. at Sen. Dial. 1.4.13, Mart. 2.51.2. Pusula is rare in poetry (also at Tib. 2.3.10); hence perhaps the MS confusion (pusuli T: pulsula B^A: punsula C^A). Fervidus is similarly used (of a disease) at Luc. 6.96-7: 'sacro fervida morbo/pestis'. On surgo, see at Mart. 14.86.2 above.

2 candida T: garrula B^AC^A. Candida accords with exornent: if not wooden, plectra could be highly decorative, made e.g. of horn or ivory (see R.E., D-S locc. cit.). A fine plectrum would enhance a lyre. (The OLD glosses exornent as 'to serve as the equipment of' (OLD s.v. exorno §1b), but this understanding is without supporting parallels and is rather pedestrian.)

Garrula is not impossible, being used of a lyre at [Tib.] 3.4.38, but probably derives from Mart. 14.169.1.

docilem...lyram: i.e. the lyre is tractable or responsive (OLD s.v. docilis §2).

14.168 A hoop

This wheel must be shod: you give me a useful present: this will be a hoop to a boy, but to me it will be a tyre.

le. trochus: The hoop was a common toy and exercise aid; in general, see

R.E. IIIA.1777.18 ff. s.v. Spielzeug [Hug]. Successful hoop-bowling demanded considerable skill: see Harris p.135 f. and at Mart. 14.169. below.

Ovid informs us that mock-didactic verse on how to bowl hoops provided Saturnalian entertainment (Trist. 2.486: 'hic artem nandi praecipit, ille trochi'). Hoops were therefore perhaps common gifts. That this hoop was really intended for use as a tyre is unlikely.

It is also unlikely that this hoop was expensive. If it is cheap, so must be that of Mart. 14.169. Since 14.167 plectrum is P, an intervening R epigram must be missing.

This hoop is suitable for a child. For Saturnalian gifts given to children, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and at Mart. 14.19.2 above.

1 inducenda rota est: Housman is surely right to interpret this as 'rota inducenda cantho' (sic), just as one would say 'inducere scuta pellibus' (Class. Pap. p.738). As he remarks, the omission of the ablative is noteworthy, although its inclusion would render cantus repetitive (line 2).

With this use of induco, compare the instances cited at OLD s.v. induco §15b. ThLL VII.1235.43 s.v. induco [J.B.H.] compares only Verg. Ecl. 9.20 'quis...viridi fontes induceret umbra', but the parallel is not exact. (Servius ad loc. glosses 'tegeret; cooperiret'.)

utile munus: Many Saturnalian gifts were not particularly useful, but they did not lack utility as a matter of course. In this instance 'utile munus' does not point to a gift exceptional for its usefulness, but possibly asserts once more the pragmatic values of the Romans in

contrast to the Greek love of useless gymnastic exercise (see at Mart. 14.49.2 above). The 'Graecus...trochus' (Hor. Carm. 3.24.57) attracted scorn and derision, for all the skill its use demanded. Although adults exercised with hoops, the implication of 'iste trochus pueris' (line 2) might be that this was unseemly in those grown to maturity.

2 at mihi cantus erit: Cantus, spelled without aspiration, is preserved by MSS in all three families (TQEA), which suggests that M. might have favoured this orthography. It is preferred to canthus by Heraeus, the Budé and Shackleton Bailey. According to A. Walde, Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1938-56, s.v. cantus and OLD s.v. cant(h)us, the word is Gallic. This squares with the well known superiority of Celtic wheeled traffic.

A Gallic metal tyre survives in the Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Munich (Saal 7; 1st Century B.C.). It is some 3 feet in diameter and would have been fitted round a wheel by being heated and then cooled. When not used as a tyre, it would have made an ideal hoop. See too Charles Singer, E.J. Holmyard, A.R. Hall, Trevor I. Williams (edd.), A History of Technology II, Oxford 1956, p. 551 [E.M. Jope] and fig. 503: a 3rd Century farm cart with unspoked planked wheels on one of which a tyre is discernible.

14.169 The same

Why does the chattering ringlet wander on the pliant round? So that the crowd that meets them might give way to the clear-sounding hoops.

le. idem: Concerning hoops, see also at Mart. 14.168. le. n. above. Since hoops were bowled in the crowded campus Martius (Strabo 5.c236), the

problem of people in the way ('obvia turba', line 2) would have been common. Hoops were therefore fitted with noisy rings: see D-S V p.492 fig. 7101 s.v. trochus [Georges Lafaye], A. Rich, A Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities, London 1890, s.v. anulus, with illustrations from a sepulchral bas-relief from Tivoli; cf. Mart. 11.21.1 f.: 'Lydia tam laxa est.../quam celer arguto qui sonat aere trochus', at which see Kay who refers to Harris p.136 f. The combined effect of gravity and friction would ensure that, while the hoop was moving, the rings would cluster in the quadrant beneath the baton ('clavis adunca'), i.e. between it and the hoop's point of contact with the ground.

Bowling hoops with rings would need practice: hoop bowling was complex enough to justify mock didactic poems on the subject (see Mart. 14.168.1e.n.). Hor. Ars 379 ff. indicates that hoop-bowling was a skilled art, for all the possible prejudice towards such child's play in Mart. 14.168 (see at line 1, 'utile munus'). Harris observes that the point may have been not only to bowl the hoop along, but to run through it while it was in motion (p.138 f.).

1: The hexameter asks a question to which the pentameter gives the answer.

For similar use of garrulus, see Mart. 14.54.2 - of an infants' rattle. As well as giving warning to those in the way, chattering rings might have appealed to hoop-bowlers for their own sake: noisy toys appeal to those playing with them (if not always to everyone else).

Vagatur indicates that the rings are free moving rather than fixed to some part of the hoop's circumference (as the Loeb suggests ad loc.).

in laxo...orbe: Cf. Mart. 11.21.1 laxa, at which Kay notes that 'the hoops were made out of a long thin strip of metal which...was fairly pliant'.

2 argutis: Cf. Mart. 11.21.2 quoted above. The word defines the pitch of the rings' chattering.

14.170-182:

Lausberg makes the point (p.209) that some of the epigrams in this section (specifically Mart. 14.173, 177, 179, 180, 181) are not so much descriptions of but pointed comments on works of art, and that such comments are possible thanks to the explanatory lemmata.

Sigillaria receive general discussion in the Intro., 'Saturnalia' section D.

14.170 A Golden Statue of Victory

This is given without the drawing of a lot to him, to whom the Rhine gives his true name. Add Falernian tenfold, boy.

le.: signum Victoriae aureum T (<signum aureum Victoriae Q; C's reading simium de curia is clearly wrong). Gold statues are rich men's gifts. This gift is appropriate, given its imperial recipient (cf. Suet. Dom. 13.2 'statuas sibi in Capitolio non nisi aureas et argenteas poni permisit ac ponderis certi ') and his military success (for which see below). For representations of Victory/ Nike in Greek and Roman art, see D-S V p.845 col. 1 ff. s.v. Victoria [Henri Graillot], esp. 850 col. 2 ff. (Roman). Predictably, representations, whether statues or on coins,

proliferated at times of military triumph, e.g. after Actium (D-S loc. cit. p.851 col. 1). For artistic representations of Domitian in victory, see Hannestad p.139 f.

Extant examples of golden Victory sigilla are scarce. For bronze, cf. Ash. 1874.458, BM GR 1913.12-17.3 (1st Century Roman); for terracotta, see BM GR 1893.9-15.12 = c533 (1st Century Greek, Myrina).

1-2 Haec illi sine sorte datur cui nomina Rhenus/ vera dedit: Domitian marked his success in suppressing the Chatti by assuming the cognomen 'Germanicus' in A.D. 83 - hence nomina here (plural for metrical reasons); cf. Mart. 2.2.3-4 'nobilis domito tribuit Germania Rheno, / et puer hoc dignus nomine, Caesar, eras' (he also renamed the month September 'Germanicus': Suet. Dom. 13.3). For the campaign, see below, Mart. 14.34.1 n. above.

Verus means 'properly so called': OLD s.v. §5. M. implies that it was Domitian's destiny and purpose in life to quell the Chatti. (Notice vera's emphatic position; compare too the stress on illi.) Contrast the less than adulatory view of Suet. Dom. 6.1: 'expeditiones partim sponte sua suscepit, partim necessario: sponte in Chattos, necessario unam in Sarmatas legione cum legato simul caesa'. Known facts regarding the campaign (e.g. the construction of limites, the flexible use of cavalry, the compensation for civilians affected by the fighting, and the merciful peace terms) suggest, however, that, contrary to Suetonius, the campaign was both militarily and politically useful (Garzetti p.287).

M's flattery of Domitian is dealt with at Mart. 14.1.2 n. above.

Rhenus: Cf. Mart. 2.2.3 cited above. The Chatti lived to the rear of the Romanised peoples east of the Rhine.

sine sorte: Since this golden Victory is Domitian's by right, it does not fall to him in the usual way by lot (cf. Mart. 14.1.5 above). Chance had no place in Domitian's military accomplishment.

2 deciens adde Falerna, puer: Puer regularly reflects the address to attendant slaves found in Greek sympotic lyric and epigram. N-H, vol. 1 p.421, compare Catul. 27.1 ff., Hor. Carm. 2.11.18 ff. A.P. 5.110.2. Cf. also Petr. 55.3 'quare da nobis vina Falerna, puer', and note Mart. 14.118.2 above.

Deciens refers superficially to the measure of celebratory wine poured, specifically to the number of letters in 'Germanicus': for the practice 'ad numerum bibere', cf. Mart. 8.51.21; see Kay at Mart. 11.36.7 referring to Citroni at Mart. 1.71 Intro., Marquardt Prl. p.334, Bömer in detail at Ovid Fasti 3.532, the Loeb at Mart. 9.93.3-8:

nunc mihi dic, quis erit cui te, Calacisse, deorum
sex iubeo cyathos fundere? 'Caesar erit'.
sutilis aptetur deciens rosa crinibus, ut sit
qui posuit sacrae nobile gentis opus. (= Domitianus)
nunc bis quina mihi da basia, fiat ut illud
nomen ab Odrysio quod deus orbe tulit. (= Germanicus)

The older form decies usually occurs in M. Hence Gilbert's reading here. But deciens is also attested (Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.36).

adde: Cf. Mart. 9.93.1 'addere quid cessas, puer, inmortale Falernum?', 10.93.1 'addat cum mihi Caecubum minister'.

Falerna: Falernian wine was good (see at Mart. 14.113.1 above), although not necessarily the best available - see N-H vol. 1 p.251: 'One might try to argue that Caecuban and Calenian were even better than Falernian and Formian; one certainly cannot maintain that the last two were superior'; cf. Pliny Nat. 14.62. Nevertheless, the quality is appropriate for imperial toasts (cf. Mart. 9.93.1).

14.171 An earthenware statue of Brutus' boy

The glory of this statue, as small as it is, is not obscure: of this boy, Brutus was the lover.

1e. Ῥοῦτροῦ παιδίον fictile: The original of this statue by Strongylion (5th Century B.C.) was much admired by Caesar's assassin: cf. Pliny Nat. 34.82 'idem (Strongylion) fecit puerum, quem amando Brutus Philippiensis cognomine suo illustravit', Mart. 2.77.4 'puerum Bruti', 9.50.5-6; see R.E. IVA.373.51 ff. s.v. Strongylion [Lippold].

Although no copies of Strongylion's statue survive today (see Kl.P. 5.398.59 s.v. Strongylion [W.H.Gross]), the statue here referred to would have been a replica. The assertion 'gloria...non est obscura', line 1, together with the pentameter, indicates that its value was not intrinsic but derived from Brutus' association with the original work (for similar claims to value by association, see Mart. 14.98.1e. n. above). Fictile likewise indicates cheapness: when used e.g. of tableware, it denotes old-world poverty and accompanying values (see at Mart. 14.98.2 above).

In noting that M's Greek usage includes inscriptions, Weinreich, Studien p.162, refers also to Mart. 9.44.4 ff. '"Graece numquid" ait

"poeta nescis?/ inscripta est basis indicatque nomen"/ Ἀνσίππου lego,
Phidiae putavi'.

1 gloria...non est obscura: Also famous in Roman times was Strongylion's
lovely legged (εὐκνήμος) Amazon.

tam parvi...sigilli: Smallness is further attested at Mart. 2.77.4.

2 istius pueri Brutus amator erat: For amator meaning 'admirer', see OLD
s.v. §3a. Pueri (cf. παῖδες, le.) is possibly intended to pick up Mart.
14.170.2 puer. Puer can be used of a catamite (OLD s.v. §3). Given
amator (cf. Mart. 14.193.1 n.), it is quite likely to have erotic
undertones, attempting perhaps to impugn the traditional honour of
Brutus; cf. Mart. 11.104.18 where M. impugns the pudicitia of Porcia by
alleging that she allowed Brutus to bugger her. To what extent Brutus
was in fact honourable is discussed in Robert Yelverton Tyrrell and
Louis Claude Purser, The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero VI, Dublin-
London 1899, pp. xcvi ff.

14.172 The lizard killer in Corinthian bronze

Treacherous boy, spare the lizard creeping towards you: it wants to
die by your hands.

le. Sauroctonos Corinthius: This statue is a replica of a work by
Praxiteles, also in bronze (G.M.A.Richter, The Sculpture and Sculptors
of the Greeks,⁴ New Haven-London 1970), representing the young Apollo,
arrow in hand, about to stab a lizard. (For the great value of

Corinthian bronze, see Mart. 14.43. le. n. above.) One of Praxiteles' most famous statues (Kl.P. 4.1124.41 ff. s.v. Praxiteles [W.Pötscher]), it is described also at Pliny Nat. 34.70 'fecit (Praxiteles) et puberem Apollinem subrepenti lacertae comminus sagitta insidiantem, quem sauroctonon vocant'. Illustrations of the work, on a coin and in statuary, appear in G.M.A.Richter op. cit. (figs 720, 722-3); cf. J.Charbonneaux, R.Martin, F.Villard, Classical Greek Art: 480-330 B.C., London 1972, p.210 plate 242. Richter's illustrations are reproduced in Appendix ii. See also EAA s.v. 'Prassiteles' p.425, noting plates 462-3.

Stabbing lizards apparently still diverts small boys in Southern Europe today (Richter op. cit. p.202).

1 ad te reptanti...lacertae: See Richter plate 723, where the lizard is clearly discernible creeping around the tree towards Apollo; cf. Pliny Nat. 34.70 subrepenti.

puer insidiose: Cf. Pliny Nat. 34.70 insidiantem. Surviving representations show Apollo waiting patiently, almost casually, in ambush for the lizard. In those pictures where the lizard can be made out (Richter plate 723, Charbonneaux plate 242), it is not yet in a position which affords Apollo a favourable angle for the kill.

Apollo was god of archery - hence possibly his use of an arrow rather than a spear or dagger in lizard hunting. Arrows were regarded as being slightly sneaky and underhand, being well suited therefore to the weaponry e.g. of Paris; cf. Homer Il. 11.375 ff. Note esp. lines 378 ff.:

ὁ δὲ μάλα ἡδὺ γελᾶσας
 ἔκ λόχου ἀμπήδησε καὶ εὐχόμενος ἔπος ἤυδα·
 "Βέβληαι, οὐδ' ἄλιον βέλος ἔκφυγεν· ὥς ὄφελόν τοι
 νείατον ἔς κενεῶνα βαλὼν ἐκ θυμὸν ἐλέσθαι·
 οὕτω κεν καὶ Τρῶες ἀνέπνευσαν καχόητος,
 οἳ τε σε πεφρίκασι λέονθ' ὥς μηχάδες αἶγες".

This might help explain insidiose.

2 cupit digitis illa perire tuis: Possibly what M. means is that the lizard, under the spell of Apollo's divine aura, wants to die by his hand (or finger) rather than be pierced by an impersonal arrow; cf. Juv. 4.69 '(rhombus) ipse capi voluit' (under Domitian's spell).

Digiti would naturally be used in catching a lizard and then killing it, as opposed to hands, appropriate, in the absence of weapons, for killing larger prey.

14.173 Hyacinthus painted on a panel

The Oebalian boy, the reproach and sorrow of Phoebus, turns his dying eyes away from the hateful discus.

le. Hyacinthus: Apollo killed his beloved Hyacinthus when the jealous Zephyr blew his discus off course. See Roscher 1.2760.22 ff. s.v. Hyakinthos [Weizsäcker], R.E. IX.9.7 ff. s.v. 'Υάκινθος [Eitrem], and at Mart. 14.164.2 above; cf. Apollod. 3.10.3. The flower, enscribed αἰαῖ, grew from Hyacinthus' blood; cf. Milton Lycidas 106 'like to that sanguine flower inscribed with woe'.

Although subordinate to the Apollo myth in historical times, Hyacinthus, adult and bearded, had a cult in his own right in pre-Hellenic times: see OCD² s.v. Hyacinthus.

in tabula pictus: Artistic treatment of Hyacinthus receives discussion at Roscher I.2765.34 ff. s.v. Hyakinthos [Weizsäcker]. The picture here might be a copy of that by Nicias (for whom, see Pliny Nat. 35.130), the original of which was taken to Rome by Augustus after the fall of Alexandria.

Although describing a picture, M's poem is in fact principally concerned with the internal emotions of those whose story it portrays; cf. Lausberg p.203. The hexameter focusses on Hyacinthus, the pentameter on Apollo. But, like a picture, the epigram captures a precise moment.

Pictures were commonly painted on panels; cf. Ter. Eun. 584, Prop. 1.2.22, 2.3.41, Cic. Brut. 261, Fin. 5.1.3, Inv. 2.1; see A.P.Laurie, Greek and Roman Methods of Painting, Cambridge 1910, p.46 f. and passim.

Augustus used to auction paintings both at the Saturnalia and at other times where bidders could see only the picture's backs and were therefore ignorant of the values of each lot: Suet. Aug. 75. This picture is presumably a cheap gift: although internal evidence of value is lacking, Mart. 14.172 and 174 are clearly expensive.

Other kinds of tablets given at the Saturnalia include games boards (Mart. 14.17) and those for writing on (Mart. 14.3, 14.9).

2 Oebalius...puer: Cf. Mart. 11.43.8. Oebalus was an early king in Hyacinthus' homeland Sparta: see Bömer at Ovid Met. 10.162-3; cf. Met. 13.396. By framing 'Phoebe culpa dolorque', the periphrasis draws attention to Apollo's grief while also ensuring a well-rounded line: see Lausberg p.204.

Phoebe culpa dolorque: Reference to Apollo links this epigram with Mart. 14.172. Lausberg loc. cit. compares Ovid Met. 10.198 'tu dolor es facinusque meum'; cf. culpa, line 200. This echo, she says, contrasts the brevity of M's treatment with Ovid's epic handling.

According to the OLD (s.v. §1d), culpa meaning 'reproach' or 'cause of blame' survives here only (ThLL IV.1301.27 s.v. culpa [Schwering] cites as a possible parallel Stat. Theb. 9.617 'nec mihi secretis culpam (PD: crimen QN; crinem B) occultare sub antris/ cura, sed ostendi prolem (PDA: natum NQS)). 'Dolor' for 'cause of anguish' is quite common: OLD s.v. §2c, ThLL V.1843.48 ff. s.v. dolor [Heyl].

14.174 A marble Hermaphroditus

He entered the fountain a male. He came out both sexes. One part of him is his father's; the rest he has is his mother's.

le. Hermaphroditus: Son of Hermes and Aphrodite, the beautiful Hermaphroditus attracted the love of Salmacis, nymph of a fountain near Halicarnassus. While he was bathing there, she embraced him, praying that they might be forever united. Fusion of their bodies into one retaining features of both sexes resulted. See R.E. VIII.716.46 ff. s.v. Hermaphroditos [Jessen] and Smith s.v. Hermaphroditus; cf. Ovid Met. 4.274 ff. with Bömer's very detailed introduction (pp.100 ff.).

marmoreus: Marble statues were costly: cf. Stat. Silv. 5.1.230-1 'tantas venerabile marmor/ spirat opes'; see OLD s.vv. marmor §3a, marmoreus §1. White marble was a suitable medium for representing a beautiful boy. (Hermaphroditus' neck is the colour of ivory at Ovid Met. 4.335.)

Roscher discusses artistic representations of Hermaphroditus in detail: Roscher I.2319.14 ff. s.v. Hermaphroditos [P.Herrmann], esp. 2323.13 ff. (statues). Note also Reinach p.367 f., R.E. loc. cit. 719.18 ff.

1: Note the chiasitic structure of 'masculus(1) intravit(2) fontis emersit(2) utrumque(1)', which helps indicate the transformation.

masculus intravit fontis: Cf. Ovid Met. 4.380 ff. 'ergo, ubi se liquidas, quo vir descenderat, undas/ semimarem fecisse videt mollitaque in illis/ membra...'. Masculus can simply mean the opposite of female (OLD s.v. masculus² §1), but here it also draws attention to the virility lost by Hermaphroditus upon entering the pool (for masculus meaning 'virile', see OLD loc. cit. §2).

emersit utrumque: Cf. Ovid Met. 4.378 ff. 'nec femina dici/ nec puer ut possit, nec utrumque et utrumque videntur'.

2 pars est una patris, cetera matris habet: a line of twofold application: firstly, Hermaphroditus combined his parents' bodily parts, usually being depicted with breasts, broad hips and girlish face but male genitalia. Secondly, his name derives from those of both parents; cf. Ovid Met. 4.290-1 'cuius erat facies, in qua materque paterque/ cognosci possent; nomen quoque traxit ab illis', 384, Aus. p.326 f. Prete de Hermaphrodito et eius natura:

Mercurio genitore satus, genetrice Cythere,
 nominis ut mixti, sic corporis Hermaphroditus,
 concretus sexu, sed non perfectus, utroque:
 ambiguae Veneris, neutro potiendus amari.

cetera matris habet: Cf. Mart. 5.27.1-2 'ingenium studiumque tibi moresque genusque/ sunt equitis, fateor: cetera plebis habes', Ovid Ep. 6.124 'cetera patris habent', Aus. 208.58 Prete '(Traianus) belli laude prior, cetera patris habens'. Habeo is usual of possessing physical features: OLD s.v. habeo §3, ThLL VI(2).2402.55 ff. s.v. habeo [Bulhart].

14.175 A Painted Danae

Why, ruler of Olympus, did Danae receive payment from you if Leda gave to you free?

le. Danae picta: The MSS struggle with Danae. C^a's Diana comes closest to sense, save that Diana was not raped by Zeus.

Danae was a favourite artistic theme: Kl.P. 1.1379.14 ff. s.v. Danae [H. von Geisaul, Roscher I.948.65 ff. s.v. Danae [Stoll]. R.E. IV.2086.43 ff. s.v. Danae [Willrich] gives a bibliography. Since 'in tabula' is not specified (as at Mart. 14.173), it is possible that we have here not a painting but a coloured statue (for such sigillaria, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D). If a painting, the work referred to is possibly a copy of Artemon's famous picture (cf. Pliny Nat. 35.139). Whether statue or painting, the gift appears cheap after the expensive Hermaphroditus.

1-2 cur a te pretium Danae, regnator Olympi, / accepit...: Zeus visited Danae, who conceived Perseus, in a shower of golden rain; hence pretium. Apollod. 2.4.1 gives the full story. The difficulty of depicting a shower of gold in statuary possibly supports arguments that a picture is here intended, although Danae might have been sculpted with a pile of coins in her lap.

Ovid's explanation as to why Zeus should appear as a shower of gold is clear: money is the way to a woman's heart: Am. 3.8(7).29-30 'Iuppiter, admonitus nihil esse potentius auro, / corruptae pretium virginis ipse fuit'. This does not answer the present epigram's question, however, as to why a golden shower was employed for Danae, whereas the ravished Leda received no financial compensation.

regnator Olympi: a grand phrase (cf. Verg. A. 2.779, 7.558, 10.437), ironically used. It implies that were Jupiter really ruler of Olympus, he should have taken Danae (carefully juxtaposed) for nothing, as he did Leda.

Accepit allows the suggestion of inconsistency in Jupiter's treatment of mortal women, contrasting with what one might expect of the regnator Olympi. It balances the antonym dedit at the end of the pentameter and has majority MS support. It is therefore clearly correct.

Exigit (LP) is meaningless and unmetrical; Q's exegit (presumably an emendation?) is initially attractive, but suggests that Danae was propositioned and struck a hard bargain. In fact Jupiter gave her no choice.

2 gratis si tibi Leda dedit: Zeus came to Leda not in a golden shower but in the form of a swan: see at Mart. 14.161.1 above; for his various disguises to get women, cf. Ovid Am. 3.12.33 'Iuppiter aut in aves aut se transformat in aurum/ aut secat imposita virgine taurus aquas'.

Gratis contrasts with pretium. Do is often used of granting sexual favours: cf. Ovid Ars 1.345 'quae dant, quaeque negant, gaudent tamen esse rogatae', Mart. 2.9.1, 4.7.1, 7.30.1. It is used loosely here since Leda yielded perforce.

14.176 A German Mask

I am the joke of a potter, a mask of a red-haired German. The visage which you mock, the child fears.

le. persona Germana: Such earthenware masks were probably cheap (figuli, line 1; cf. Mart.14. 171 le. fictile n. above and see W.Beare, The Roman Stage, London 1968, p.187). If so, Birt is right to suspect that an epigram has fallen out between Mart. 14.175 and 176 (Buchwesen p.80). It would, too, have described an expensive gift.

Masks could be either tragic or comic, this one being the latter (derides, line 2; cf. lusus, line 1). Mohler, p.257 n.58, identifies this mask as a gift for children. (Regarding such Saturnalian gifts, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and at Mart. 14.19.2 above.) If so, these children must have been older than those described in line 2 (see on pueri). For masks used in children's games, see Balsdon LL. p.92.

General treatment of masks is given by D-S IV(1) p.406 col. 1 ff. s.v. persona [O.Navarrel]. A clay mask (according to Bailey, like a death mask) is mentioned at Lucr. 4.297. The BM possesses a terracotta mask of

a German which illustrates this epigram very well (GR 1867.5-8.644 (Blacas Collection); see appendix 11).

Germani, B^a, can be rejected: the nouns in the other lemmata describing paintings and statuary are qualified adjectivally rather than by another substantive. The genitive no doubt arose under the influence of 'russi...Batavi'.

1 sum figuli lusus: Figulus is fairly rare in poetry. It appears also at Mart. 4.46.14, Juv. 4.135, 10.171, Aetna 516.

russi persona Batavi: In A.D. 69, Vespasian dealt with two revolts - in Judaea and in Germany, the latter revolt being headed by one Julius Civilis (Garzetti pp.229 ff.), a Batavian chief who had acquired Roman citizenship through military service. The rebellion was successfully quashed, but it appears, perhaps together with the trouble caused e.g. by the Chatti in A.D. 83, to have given rise to anti-German feeling expressed through mockery.

The singular Batavus is not often used (cf. Tac. Hist. 2.66). Usually, however, the entire race was referred to rather than individuals.

Russus too, meaning 'red', is fairly rare. Germans were famous for their red hair: OLD s.v. rutilus S1a; cf. Tac. Germ. 4 'rutilae comae', Manilius 4.716. The redness of fired earthenware would enhance the ruddy Germanic image.

2: Puer here means 'child' and refers probably to a young child in particular (see above). Contrast Mart. 14.21.2 'si puero dones, non leve

munus erit' where puer could mean 'slave'. There, what the adult scorns, the puer welcomes; hence possibly T's corrupt amet here. Timet (Itali) is, however, certainly right (<time B^a: tibi C^a): while amusing to adults, comic masks nonetheless scare small children; cf. Juv. 3.175-6 'cum personae pallentis hiatum/ in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans', Sen. Dial. 4.11.2 'ira...timetur a pluribus sicut deformis persona ab infantibus'.

14.177 Hercules in Corinthian bronze

The infant crushes the twin snakes without alarm. Already the hydra could fear his young hands.

Cf. Virgil's wording at A. 8.697 'necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis'. He refers not to Hercules, however, but to Cleopatra's hitherto unsuspected but approaching death. For M's different use of 'nec respicit', see below.

le. Hercules Corinthius: an expensive present: for the value of Corinthian bronze, see Mart. 14.43. le. n. above. This epigram contrasts directly with Mart. 14.178 Hercules fictilis - for the cheapness of earthenware, see Mart. 14.171. le. n.

The epigram refers to an early attempt by Hera to kill Hercules by placing snakes in his cradle. Despite possible connections between their names, she persecutes Hercules vigorously in the surviving tradition. Perhaps Hercules was given to his parents in early mythology through Hera's intervention, the hostility with which she customarily regarded the offspring from Zeus' dalliances being later imported as traditions

became confused.

The earliest surviving reference to this particular attempt on Hercules' life is Pindar Nem. 1.33 ff.; cf. Theoc. Id. 24 with Gow's introduction, Verg. A. 8.283-9 'ut prima novercae/ monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit anguis', Ovid Ep. 9.21-2 'tene ferunt geminos pressisse tenaciter angues/ cum tener in cunis iam Iove dignus eras?' with Palmer ad loc. (who refers to other accounts of the story), Ars 1.187-8 'parvus erat manibusque duos Tirynthius angues/ pressit', Sid. Ap. Carm. 15.135-9.

Artistic representations of Hercules abound. Bronzes depicting him with the snakes are mentioned at D-S III(1) p.83 n.10 s.v. Hercules [F.Dürrbach]; see too Reinach p.461 f. For pictures, cf. Pliny Nat. 35.63 (by Zeuxis), note the fine wall painting in the Casa dei Vettii, Pompeii (EAA s.v. Eracle fig. 468), and see Roscher I.2242.53 s.v. Herakles [A.Furtwängler].

1: The juxtaposition of geminos and infans is significant: two snakes against a child - yet he calmly squashes them to death.

nec respicit: Friedländer glosses this as 'ohne sie anzusehen', suggesting how paltry Hercules found the act. But G.Friedrich, Hermes 43(1908), p.637, produces compelling arguments to show that 'nec respicere' here means 'without fear', citing K.P.Schulze in Beiträge zur Erklärung der römischen Elegiker I, Berlin 1893, p.19, and referring to Tib. 1.3.13-14 'tamen est deterrita numquam/ quin fleret nostras respiceretque vias'. Schulze compares Tac. Ann. 1.31, Culex 228 'sine respectu mea fata relinquens', Caesar Gal. 1.5.2. Friedrich's

interpretation yields a good contrast between Hercules who 'nec respicit' and the hydra who 'poterat...timere'.

2 iam poterat teneras Hydra timere manus: Slaying the Lernaean hydra was one of Hercules' twelve labours: cf. Sp. 27.5, 9.101.9; see Kl.P. 2.1050.17 ff. s.v. Herakles [W.Pötscher].

In analysing the structure of this epigram, Lausberg comments (pp. 205-6) on the way noun and adjective positioning in the pentameter corresponds with that in the hexameter, identifying Hercules' childish exploit with that of his adult years. If Hercules could cope with two snakes when a baby, the nine-headed hydra had good reason to fear him when fully grown.

The basic meaning of tener is 'soft', 'tender', 'delicate' etc., and it therefore comes to mean 'young' (cf. at Mart. 14.149.1 above). Its use here emphasises the hydra's grounds for fear - of what will his adult hands be capable?

For equal pentameter halves in M., see Intro. 'Metre'.

14.178 Hercules in earthenware

I am fragile. But, I warn you, don't you scorn a clay statue: It does not shame Alcides to bear my name.

le. Hercules fictilis: This Hercules is a poor man's gift in contrast to Mart. 14.177 Hercules Corinthius, q.v. (le. n.) for the respective values of earthenware and bronze. Earthenware is contrasted with Corinthian bronze also at Mart. 14.171-2 above. It is contrasted with

silver and gold at Mart. 5.59. The contrast aside, the defensive 'ne sperne' (line 1) and 'non pudet' (line 2) also indicate a low value here.

The statuette might possibly have been a replica of the Hercules fictilis made by Vulca (?) in the time of Tarquinius Priscus; cf. Pliny Nat. 35.157 '(sc. M. Varro dixit) Vulcam Veis accitum, cui locaret Tarquinius Priscus Iovis effigiem in Capitolio dicendam. fictilem eum fuisse... . ab hoc eodem factum Herculem, qui hodieque materiae nomen in urbe retinet'.

1 fragilis: Contrast the might of Hercules himself. Fragilis does not necessarily indicate absence of value, but does so here given that it describes pottery.

ne sperne: Cf. Mart. 14.98.1 'Arretina nimis ne spernas vasa monemus', where value by association with an important figure is claimed for another earthenware gift.

2 non pudet Alciden nomen habere meum: If the great Hercules is not ashamed to be called fictilis and to be a cheap sigillum, the recipient of such a gift should also be happy. The lofty patronymic heightens the contrast between Hercules' greatness and the humble representation with which he is content.

For Hercules' humility, despite his prowess, cf. Verg. A. 8.359 ff., esp. 364-5: Aeneas is challenged to emulate him in accepting Evander's simple hospitality. (For discussion of this interpretation, see Fordyce at 364 f.)

14.179 A silver Minerva

Tell me, fierce maiden, whereas you have a helmet and spear, why you do not have an aegis? 'Caesar has it'.

This epigram is part of a poetic tradition of dialogue exchanges between artwork and viewer. See Lausberg pp.206-7 for discussion.

le. Minerva argentea: For the cult of Minerva, see Roscher II.2984.32 ff. s.v. Minerva [Wissowa], Kl.P. 3.1318.12 ff. s.v. Minerva [K.Ziegler]. It was particularly pursued by Domitian: cf. Suet. Dom. 15.3 'Minervam, quam superstitiose colebat, somniavit excedere sacrario negantemque ultra se tueri eum posse, quod exarmata esse a Iove', ibid. 4.4: the emperor wore at his festival in honour of Capitoline Jupiter a crown engraved with images of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. Domitian celebrated the Quinquatria of Minerva at his Alban villa and founded a school of priests in her honour: Garzetti pp.270, 285, Coleman in detail at Stat. Sily. 4.1.22. A templum Minervae has been attributed to him: Platner Ashby p.342 f., Nash I figs 530-532.

In flattering the Emperor via reference to statuary (see below), this epigram recalls Mart. 14.170 signum Victoriae aureum. Although silver is not as valuable as gold, and although it was commonly given at the Saturnalia (see Mart. 14.93.le. n. above), it is nonetheless appropriately costly for a gift with Imperial connections. Regarding M's flattery of the Emperor, see generally Mart. 14.1.2 n. above.

Domitian was often linked with Minerva on coins (see Hannestad p.141), although he is most often associated in art with Hercules.

1 virgo ferox: Minerva's virginity is elsewhere mentioned e.g. at Cic. Ver. 4.123 'ornamenta Minervae virginis'; cf. Val. Fl. 4.670 'coruscant signum dedit aegide virgo'; see further OLD s.v. virgo §3a. Ferox is more normally applied to Athena; cf. Stat. Ach. 1.825 'feroque/Pallas', Theb. 2.715 'diva ferox'. Compare, however, Ovid Met. 4.754 'bellica virgo', remembering that in her panoply, Minerva was often identified with Athena Πολίαις (Kl.P. 3.1318.38 s.v. Minerva [K.Ziegler]) and would often receive dedications of booty in consequence.

cum sit tibi cassis et hasta: Smith s.v. Athena has illustrations of Minerva-Athena in full panoply. The cassis was a kind of helmet especially favoured by her: Ovid Trist. 1.10.2 'navis et a picta casside (sc. Minervae) nomen habet'.

2 quare non habeas aegida: For the aegis, see Fordyce at Verg. A. 8.354: in Homer, two varieties are apparent: At Il. 4.166 ff., it is something Zeus brandishes to mortal dismay; cf. 15.308 ἔχε δ' αἰγίδα θούριν, / δεινὴν ἀμφιδάσειαν ἀριπρεπέ, ἣν ἄρα χαλκεὺς / Ἥφαιστος Διὶ δῶκε φορήμεναι ἐς φόβον ἀνδρῶν; elsewhere it appears to be worn (Athena throws it around her shoulders at Il. 5.738), it has a tasselled fringe (Il. 2.446 ff.), and it bears a representation of the Gorgon's head (Il. 5.741). Aesch. Eum. 404 indicates a garment which fills with wind.

Surviving artistic representations of the aegis descend from the latter variety, depicting it as chest-armour bearing the Gorgon's head in the centre surrounded by snakes; cf. Pausanias' description of the Parthenon statue (1.24.7): καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ στήρνον ἡ κεφαλὴ Μεδούσης ἑλέφαντος ἔστιν ἐμπεποιημένη. It is probably as 'breast-plate' that

aegis is intended here, as e.g. at Verg. A. 8.435 'aegidaque horriferam, turbatae Palladis arma' (note 'in pectore', line 437).

It is unfortunate that no surviving statues of Minerva come to mind, representing her with helmet and spear but no chest armour. Nevertheless, as this epigram reveals, they must have existed.

Caesar habet: These words have been taken to allude to a breast-plate, either made for Domitian in imitation of Minerva's aegis or taken from a temple of Minerva, which he wore on his Sarmatian campaign in A.D. 92; cf. Mart 7.1:

accipe belligerae crudum thoraca Minervae,
ipse Medusaeae quem timet ira comae.
dum vacat, haec, Caesar, poterit lorica vocari:
pectore cum sacro sederit, aegis erit.

and the Loeb ad loc.; also 7.2. Mart. 7.1.1 accipe suggests, however, that this armour was a recent gift, and consequently a later date than Friedländer's becomes necessary for Mart. 14 if a connection between Mart. 7.1 and 14.179 is to be maintained.

It should be remembered too that Mart. 14.179 is a literary conceit prompted by a statue of Minerva, not by a cuirass actually presented to the Emperor. While statuettes of Minerva without the aegis must have existed, it was more common for them to show it as well as the cassis and spear. M. is here explaining away the scarcer type with an opportunistic tribute to Domitian.

Habet picks up habeas.

14.180 A painted Europa

O excellent father of the gods, you could have been changed into a bull better than when Io was a heifer for you.

le. Europe picta: This P epigram, like Mart. 14.175, possibly describes a statue rather than a picture. The two epigrams are related, both questioning Zeus/ Jupiter's course of action when dealing with mortal women: Europa, daughter of Agenor or Phoenix (depending on versions), attracted Zeus' attention while playing on the beach. Zeus, in the form of a bull, encouraged her by his apparent tameness to climb on his back and swam with her to Crete, there begetting Sarpedon (in post Homeric accounts), Minos and Rhadamanthus. For variations in the myth, see OCD² s.v. Europa, Kl.P. 2.446.56 ff. s.v. Europa [H. von Geisaul], esp. 447.20 ff., Roscher I.1409.37 ff. s.v. Europa [Helbig]. M. contends that Zeus would have done better to adopt bovine form when trying to approach Io, for whose story see below.

Europa featured frequently in art. For instance, there was a famous picture by Antiphilus in the porticus Pompeii (Pliny Nat. 35.114; see Platner Ashby p.428). From M., and M. alone, we are aware of a representation, be it picture or statue, in the portico of the Campus Martius (see Mart. 2.14.3, 3.20.12, 11.1.11 and Kay ad loc., who notes that it seems to have been near the saepta Julia).

1-2 mutari melius tauro.../tunc poteras Io cum tibi vacca fuit: Ovid makes a similar sort of joke when speaking of Pasiphae's passion: Ars 1.323-4 'et modo se Europen fieri, modo postulat Ion, / altera quod bos est, altera vecta bove!'.

pater optime divum: Again grand and ironical; cf. Mart. 14.175.1 'regnator Olympi'. If Zeus were indeed 'most excellent father of the gods', he would have timed his metamorphosis into a bull better, thereby eluding the watchful Argus (see below).

For 'pater optimus', see OLD s.v. optimus §7a; cf. Ovid Met. 7.627, Enn. Ann 203 Sk. 'divom pater atque hominum rex', 181 Sk. 'pater optime Olympi'. In Homer and Hesiod, Zeus is frequently πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, although the title was not confined to him.

tauro: The ablative with mutō denoting the thing changed into is regular, although in with accusative is more common: see OLD s.v. mutō §12b and the passages cited at ThLL VIII.1723.30 ff. s.v. mutō [Tessmer].

tunc TC^a: tum B^a. M. rarely uses tum (cf. Sp. 3.11 and 4.13.10). Tunc is therefore certain here, given that it has majority MSS support. (<Tum was perhaps influenced by cum?)

Io cum tibi vacca fuit: Daughter of Inachus, king of Argos, Io was beloved of Zeus. To hide her from Hera, he transformed her into a cow; but Hera, aware of the affair, asked for this cow as a present (which request Zeus could hardly refuse), and set Argus to guard it from him. Details of the story are supplied by Roscher II.263.50 ff. s.v. Io [Engelmann] and Kl.P. 2.1426.38 ff. s.v. Io [H. von Geisau]; cf. Hyg. Fab. 145.2.

2: For equal pentameter halves, see Intro. 'Metre'.

14.181 A marble Leander

Bold Leander shouted to the swollen waves: 'Drown me, waves, when I am returning'.

1e. Leandros marmoreus: Leandrus T: Leander B^{CA}; cf. line 1 Leandros T: Leander B^{CA}. Leandros (-us) is the usual form and appears at Sp. 25b:

cum peteret dulces audax Leandros amores
et fessus tumidis iam premeretur aquis,
sic miser instantes adfatus dicitur undas:
'parcite dum propero, mergite cum redeo'.

Cf. also Leandre, Sp. 25.1, Ovid Ep. 19.1, Trist. 3.10.41 and Λέανδρος in Greek.

Until recently, the earliest surviving authorities for the Leander story were Verg. G. 3.258 ff. (see Thomas ad loc.), and Ovid Ep. 18 and 19. Hero was priestess of Aphrodite at Sestos. Her lover, Leander of Abydos, swam the Hellespont nightly to see her, until a storm put out her light, which guided him in, and he drowned. The story is probably of Alexandrian origin.

Part of the story has now been found on a papyrus in the John Rylands library: see SH 951 and the notes ad loc. The editors of SH attribute the fragment to an Egyptian poetaster rather than a respectable poet.

Specific discussions of M's particular treatment of the story, which is unparalleled, are those of Lausberg, pp.204-5, who shows how Mart. 14.181 abbreviates Sp. 25b to achieve greater pointedness, and Weinreich, who considers these poems and their relation to Sp. 25a (Studien pp. 48-51).

In general, see Palmer's introduction to Ovid Ep. 18, Kl.P. 2.1089.21 ff. s.vv. Hero und Leander [R.Keydell], R.E. VIII.909.65 ff. s.v. Hero [Sittig], K.E.Georges, Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen, Leipzig 1890

s.v. Leandros, Roscher II.1919.27 ff. s.v. Leandros [Weizsäcker]. Note also Strabo 13.1.22.

Marmoreus identifies this Leander as a rich man's gift; cf. Mart. 14.174.1e. n. Lausberg, p.204, thinks in terms of a marble relief, but this seems unlikely, given the associations of statuary with the Saturnalia.

1 audax Leandros: Cf. Sp. 25b.1 quoted above. At Ovid Ep. 18.9 the sailor who carries Leander's letter is audax.

tumidis...in undis: Cf. Mart. Sp. 25b.2 'tumidis...aquis', Ovid Ep. 19.181 'tumidarum...aquarum', 18.193 'tumidum...aequor'.

2 mergite me fluctus cum rediturus ero: Cf. Mart. Sp. 25b.4 'mergite cum redeo'. Although Leander's request to the sea to delay his drowning cannot be paralleled in the usual tradition, Weinreich, Studien p.50 n.76, suggests that the source of M's treatment is Ovid Ep. 18.119 ff.:

...veniens huc esse natator,
cum redeo, videor naufragus esse mihi.
hoc quoque si credis: ad te via prona videtur;
a te cum redeo, clivus inertis aquae.

(this sooner than Ibis 589 f.), declaring that if M. copied Ovid at Sp. 25a.2 'Caesaris unda fuit' (cf. Fast. 3.702 'Caesaris umbra fuit'), there was nothing to prevent his doing the same here.

Rather than the waves, Leander addresses the winds (which cause the storm) at Ovid Ep. 18.37 ff.

rediturus ero: On this construction, see Neue-Wagener III³ p.162, H-Sz II p.312; cf. Ovid Met. 9.258 'doliturus erit', Ars 2.287, 350, Mart. 11.5.10 'positurus erit'. Rooy (see Heraeus ad loc.) suggests reading eo, comparing Mart. 2.5.4 'cum rediturus eam', but the above parallels render such a change unnecessary.

14.182 An earthenware statue of a hunch-back

A drunken Prometheus made this statue out of earth, I think: he, too, played with Saturnalian clay.

le. sigillum gibberi fictile: a poor man's gift: on the value of earthenware, see Mart. 14.171. le. n. above.

gibberi: Hunchbacks were considered ugly (cf. Pliny Nat. 34.11 'fullo gibber et praeterea et alio foedus aspectu') and in consequence had the same appeal to Romans, most of whom delighted in grotesqueness, as dwarves; see Mart. 14.197. le. n., 212 le. n., Friedländer SG. II p.221, Marquardt Prl. p.152 n.4. Statues of monstrosities were no doubt commonly given as Saturnalian gifts, although Mohler, p.257, is tentative when suggesting that this gift might be suitable for a child; cf. the German masks of Mart. 14.176, which might have been reserved for older children.

The BM possesses an ivory statuette (1st Century B.C.) of a hunchback showing symptoms of Pott's disease (Townley Collection 1814.7-4.277).

1 ebrius haec fecit...monstra Prometheus: The name Prometheus can be taken on two levels. In this line, it simply means 'potter': cf. Juv.

4.133 with Courtney, Lucian Prometheus es in verbis 2 καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χυτρέας καὶ ἱπνοποιούς καὶ πάντας ὅσοι πηλουργοὶ Προμηθέας ἀπεκάλουν. The hexameter refers to the gift of a clay statue. The meaning 'potter' derives, however, from Prometheus' originally fashioning men from clay, and the creator aspect of the Prometheus story should not be forgotten: see on 'lusit et ipse' below.

For Prometheus as creator, cf. Paus. 10.4.4, Mart. 10.39.4, 9.45.8; see Kl.P. 4.1175.29 ff. s.v. Prometheus [W.Pötscher], West at Hes. Theog. 571 and p.306.

terris TB^a: ferris C^a: feris (i.e. feriis 'on holiday') Eldik, which Lindsay acclaims as possibly right - the reading would comply with Saturnalicio, line 2. Not only does terris have majority MS support, however, but C^a has ferrai for terrai at Mart. 11.90.5, which advances the case for TB^a here.

2 lusit et ipse: While human potters made clay hunchbacks at/ for the Saturnalia, their exemplar, Prometheus (ipse), made live hunchbacks: he too took part in the festival.

N-H remark at Hor. Carm. 1.16.13 that the ancients seem to have derived amusement from attributing absent-mindedness or oversight to Prometheus: e.g. he causes hairiness in boys (A.P. 12.220) and allows the lion to be afraid of the cock (Ach. Tat. 2.21.1 f.). Hunchbacks, here, are caused by his drunkenness (see below).

Saturnalicio...luto: Luto possibly puns on ludo; cf. Plaut. Mil. 325 'mihi sunt manus inquinatae...quia ludo luto'. Lutum is again used of

the clay taken to fashion men at Mart. 10.39.4 'Prometheo...luto'. See also Mayor in detail at Juv. 14.35.

Saturnalicio picks up ebrius: see at Mart. 14.1.9 'madidis...diebus' for Saturnalian drunkenness. Six syllable words are fairly uncommon in the pentameter; cf., however, Mart. 5.50.2 inimicitiae (at the pentameter end).

14.183-196:

The value of the literary works described in this section and their relation one to another is discussed above (Intro. 'Order').

It was common to send books or poems as or with Saturnalian gifts: Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D, Lucian Sat. 16, Stat. Silv 4.9.1-2. This literature was often not of a high standard (cf. Mart. 5.30.5 f., 14.196 below) and appears sometimes to have been selected deliberately because it was bad; cf. Catul. 14, esp. lines 17-20 'nam, si luxerit, ad librariorum/ curram scrinia, Caesios, Aquinos, / Suffenum, omnia colligam venena, / ac te his suppliciis remunerabor'. It might have been written by the sender (cf. Mart. 5.18.4 'praeter libellos vernulas nihil misi', 10.18(17).1 ff.), but this was not obligatory: the literary works described in Book 14 are not autograph copies; cf. Catul. 14.17-20 quoted above.

The literary works in this section of the Apophoreta are unusual, however, in that some of them (those on parchment) appear in codex form, as is clear e.g. from Mart. 14.184.1e. pugillaribus, q.v. ad loc. Since M. is at pains to stress the advantages of the codex (e.g. convenience for travellers, reduced demands on shelf-space), and since only he of his contemporaries mentions this form of literary production, Roberts

and Skeat suggest (ch. 5) that it was an innovation and, probably due to consumer conservatism, not a successful one (cf. Reynolds and Wilson p.31): M. is silent regarding the codex in later books, and, with the exception of an example c. A.D. 100, the earliest surviving parchment codex is 3rd/4th century, most ancient papyrus codices being no older. Therefore while the poems which follow are interesting in that they reveal perhaps that M. was many years ahead of his time, they do not provide the key link in the transition from roll to codex.

14.183 Homer's Batrachomachia

Peruse the frogs sung of in Homeric song and learn to smooth your brow with my trifles.

le. Homeri Batrachomachia: Ascribed to Homer, the Battle of the Frogs is, however, in a much lighter vein than the epics; cf. Stat. Silv. 1 praef. 7 ff. 'sed et Culicem legimus et Batrachomachiam etiam agnoscimus; nec quisquam est illustrium poetarum qui non aliquid operibus suis stilo remissiore praeluserit'. M's epigram is the earliest surviving reference to the work (P.Easterling, CHCL I p.39), which is in fact probably Hellenistic rather than Homeric in origin (CHCL ibid.).

Batrachomachia survives in Latin only in these places in M. and Statius, and in both cases there is no MS support for reading Batrachomyomachia. Hence Phillimore (1905, repr. 1967) and Courtney (1990) print Batrachomachia in their OCTs of Stat. Silv. and I retain it here. (Additional reasons are given above: Intro. 'Text'). That the correct title in Greek is Βατραχομυομαχία, however, there can be no doubt: see the arguments of Dr Jos Tominšek, 'Batrachomachia oder Batrachomyomachia', WS 23(1901), pp.6-13.

Amongst the apophoreta described in riddles at Petr. 56.7-10 are found "'muraena et littera", an 'eel and a letter'. The recipient in fact receives 'murem cum rana alligata (mus + rana = muraena) fascemque betae (i.e. a stick of beet; but beta is also the second letter of the Greek alphabet - hence littera)'. Following Burman, Ullman calls attention (p. 352 f.) to the story of the mouse and the frog preserved by Phaedrus and Aesop and appearing in a slightly altered form in the Batrachomachia ascribed to Homer: the mouse wants to cross a river and is helped by the frog who ties the mouse's foreleg to one of his hind ones before setting off. In other words, while an eel is advertised, the recipient gets a mouse tied to a frog, and this is a punning reference to a work of literature (cf. littera). If this interpretation of the Petronian riddle is correct, it appears possible that the Batrachomachia might regularly have been given as a Saturnalian present.

1 perlege: 303 lines survive in the version printed by the OCT, although 42 lines are regarded as suspect or are omitted by certain MSS. Nevertheless, reading the poem right through cannot have been a giant undertaking.

Maeonio...carmine: In certain traditions, 'Maeon' is Homer's father; cf. Ovid Am. 1.15.9 Maeonides with McKeown, 3.9(8).25. Here, however, Maeonia is geographical (see Henderson at Ovid Rem. 373 Maeonio; cf. Ars 2.4), being synonymous with Lydia, which in turn often stands for Ionia, Homer's fatherland (on the most likely localities laying claim to Homer, see G.S.Kirk, The Songs of Homer, Cambridge 1962, pp.271-4). The poet is therefore indicated by his origins.

cantatas: Cf. Homer Il. 1.1 ἀειδῶ. One recalls singers like Phemius and Demodocus, and the rhapsodes; see Kirk op. cit. index s.vv. 'singers' and 'rhapsodes'.

2 et frontem nugis solvere disce meis: The speaker of disce (and perlege, line 1) is not M. but the Batrachomachia. Nugis...meis therefore refers to its contents, not to M's work (pace Lausberg, p.246). For nugae of poetic trifles, cf. Catul. 1.4 with Fordyce, Mart. 9 praef. 5, 7.26.7. Solvere is natural of smoothing brows wrinkled by the troubles of life (see OLD s.v. solvo 89).

14.184 Homer on parchment tablets

The Iliad and Ulysses, hostile to the kingdoms of Priam, lie stored together in many-folded skins.

le. Homerus in pugillaribus membranis: This gift comprises the whole of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, as is indicated by line 1 and pariter, line 2 (cf. Roberts and Skeat p.25). These works are written on parchment in codex form (with pugillaribus, cf. 'multiplici...pelle', line 2 below). For M. and the codex, see Mart. 14.183-196 n. above.

Since pugillaribus, understood adjectivally, does not appear in Mart. 14.186, 188, 190 and 192 (although one should understand that codices are meant: see ad loc.), the noun membranis is in those places to be expected. Here, however, taking pugillaris as a noun, the adjective membraneis (M) is a very probable emendation of membranis (cf. Mart. 14.7 pugillares membranei, CIL X.6.8 'pugillares membranaceas', and see Roberts and Skeat p.25 n.2, Birt Buchwesen p.85). Were pugillaris adjectival here, one would expect it to follow its noun. Lindsay

accordingly wonders whether membraneis represents the full version of C^A's abbreviated lemma, although he prints membranis. Shackleton Bailey prints membranes, but it would appear from his apparatus that he meant membraneis.

1 Priami regnis inimicus Ulixes: To identify a poem or work by its principal character is natural: cf. Ovid Ars 3.337 'et profugum Aenean' and see at Mart. 14.189.1 Cynthia. Alternatively, the incipit could be used: cf. Mart. 14.185 'arma virumque'.

regnis inimicus: The plural regnis is not necessarily otiose - at the start of the Trojan War, Priam's kingdom was extensive (Kl.P. 4.1128.32 ff. s.v. Priamus [H. von Geisaul]).

2 multiplici...pelle: Pellis referring to parchment survives in Classical Latin here only and at Mart. 190.1 pellibus; cf., however, Hier. Ep. 7.2.2.

condita: Conditus has here as its principal sense 'stored', but can also mean 'hidden' or 'concealed' (OLD s.v. conditus² §2), which accords with latent. (In view of Ulysses' cunning nature, his hiding is perhaps appropriate.)

Both condita ('stored') and latent recall that an unexpectedly large bulk of writing has been incorporated here in a codex which, given its contents and the size of the rolls necessary to contain a similar amount, is very small.

Conditus can additionally mean 'written': see OLD s.v. condo §4b; cf.

Juv. 11.180 'conditor Iliados', [Tib.] 3.7.4, Ovid Trist. 2.416. This meaning applies here too, but again at a subsidiary level.

14.185 The Culex of Virgil

Receive, avid reader, the Culex of eloquent Maro, to avoid reading the 'arma virumque' when you put your nuts aside.

le. Culex: This work, ascribed to Virgil, is a light-weight piece which partners the Aeneid (note the corresponding position of Maro in Mart. 14.186) as the Batrachomachia does the Homeric epics; cf. Stat. Silv. 1 praef. 7 ff. quoted at Mart. 14.183. le. above. General discussion concerning it can be found at CHCL II p.471 [J.C.Bramble].

MSS evidence supports the spelling Culex here (<Culix C^a>), but not at Mart. 3.93.9 and 11.18.13: see Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.52. Heraeus, followed by Shackleton Bailey, prints Culex, citing in support Phocas, GLK 5.420.29, Priscian, GLK 2.164 and Culex tit., 413.

1 facundi...Maronis: Facundus is regular of poets; cf. Mart. 14.189.1 'facundi...Properti' below, 5.30.3 'facundi...Catulli', Stat. Silv. 2.1.114 'facundi...Menandri'.

Studiosus is ironic: the addressee is clearly not an avid reader, having been lightly occupied with nuts, and his literature cannot be too heavy. (OLD s.v. studiosus 92a would translate 'studious', 'scholarly', vel sim. This interpretation misses the sense of the word slightly, although allowing some of the same irony).

2 ne nucibus positis: Playing with nuts was customary at the Saturnalia, but reading or writing light verse is a regular alternative: see at Mart. 14.1.12.

Shackleton Bailey prints 'et n...p...', but makes no comment in his apparatus. Since there is no MS evidence for this reading, one assumes that it is a misprint.

arma virumque: With this titular use of the incipit, cf. Sen. Ep. 113.25, Mart. 8.55(56).19 f. 'protinus "Italiam" concepit et "Arma virumque", / qui modo vix "Culicem" fleverat ore rudi', etc. (For a detailed discussion and rejection as spurious of the four lines which precede 'arma virumque' in later MSS, see R.G.Austin 'ille ego qui quondam...', CQ 18(1968), pp. 107-115.) Callimachus used the incipit for the Alexandrian catalogue: see A.W.Bulloch in CHCL I p.550; cf. the index epigrammaton of the Mart. OCT, and note the use of first lines in indexing modern anthologies, e.g. The Oxford Book of English Verse.

14.186 Virgil on parchment

How small a parchment has encapsulated mighty Maro! The features of the man himself the first page bears.

1e. Vergilius in membranis: As is made plain in line 1, the whole of the Virgilian corpus is intended; cf. Roberts and Skeat p.25. Concerning the orthography of Virgil's name in English and in Latin, see N.Horsfall, Omnibus (July 1987) p.12.

1 quam brevis...membrana: Brevis ('small': ThLL II.2181.37 ff. s.v. brevis [Münscher]) is pointedly juxtaposed and contrasted with inmensum

- that this small codex (note 'prima tabella', line 2) contains all of Virgil is remarkable.

For the orthography of inmensum, see Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.42. Inmensum could refer to Virgil's greatness as well as to the bulk of his collected works (cf. immensus applied to Pindar at Hor. Carm. 4.2.7), but given that brevis refers to physical size, any suggestion of Virgil's greatness here must be secondary.

The use of an author's name (here Maro) to refer to his literary output is natural and common: cf. Quint. Inst. 8.6.26 'cum...dicimus...carmina Vergilii "Vergilium"' and several of the epigrams below.

2 ipsius vultus: Heraeus is no doubt correct to reject R's 'ipsius et vultus' as an attempt to remove an apparent metrical difficulty, comparing Mart. 10.51.9 unius and 12.50.2.

Ipsius indicates the transition from the poet's work to Maro the man; see OLD s.v. ipse §5.

Portraits of the author were natural and frequent frontispieces; see Lausberg p.562 n.7, Friedländer SG. II p.277 and Birt Buchwesen p.86, referring to Sen. Dial. 9.9.7, Mart. 10.99. O.Crusius, RhM 44(1889) p.455, suggests that Mart. Book 1 began with such a picture, although Howell prefers to interpret 'hic est quem legis ille...' (Mart. 1.1 Intro.) as a variation of the 'ille ego' formula e.g. at Ovid Am. 2.1.1-2.

14.187 The Thais of Menander

With this first he dallied in the lascivious love-affairs of young men, nor was Glycera the boy's girl but Thais.

1e. Μενάνδρου Θαίς: Not much is known of Menander's Thais since only the title and a few fragments survive: see Körte's Teubner edition, 1959; cf. the resumé of T.B.L. Webster, An Introduction to Menander, Manchester 1974, p.189. Ovid Ars 3.605 'ut sis liberiore Thaide, finge metus' and Rem. 383-6 give some idea as to the leading figure's character.

M. uses Greek for literary titles (also of Menander's works) again at Mart. 14.214. Weinreich, Studien pp.161 ff., classifies in general M's use of Greek.

For other epigrams where the lemma clarifies references in the poem, see Mart. 14.2.3 n. above.

1 hac primum...lusit: Ludere is common of composing light literature, as the Thais (hac) would have been; cf. Mart 9.26.10 'lascivum iuvenis cum tibi lusit opus', Verg. Ecl. 6.1 'prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu/ nostra...Thalea'; see N-H at Hor. Carm. 1.32.2, OLD s.v. ludo 98a. It has, however, a sexual meaning too (see Adams p.162 for references), which is also intended here (cf. at line 2 below).

Lascivi amores are associated with youth also at Hor. Carm. 2.11.7.

2 nec Glycera pueri, Thais amica fuit: i.e. Menander was so busy writing the Thais as a young man that he did not have time for any love affairs of his own. His work was his mistress.

That Menander really had at some stage a mistress named Glycera, as he is purported to have done (albeit, on the evidence of this epigram, not in his youth), is discussed and rejected as Hellenistic invention at

R.E. XV.712.10 ff. s.v. Menandros [A.Körte]; cf. Körte, Hermes 54(1919), pp.87-93.

For the name's metrical quantities (Glycerā), see Neue-Wagener 1³⁴ 83 ff., esp. p. 85.

14.188 Cicero on parchment

If this parchment has been your travelling companion, imagine yourself to take long journeys with Cicero.

For in-flight reading, cf. Mart 1.2.1-4:

qui tecum cupis esse meos ubicumque libellos
et comites longae quaeris habere viae,
hos eme, quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis:
scrinia da magnis, me manus una capit.

Membrana must refer to the codex form in both Mart. 1.2 and here, or there would be no point to the books' especial suitability for travel, the roll being cumbersome.

le. Cicero in membranis: There is nothing in this epigram to suggest that the whole Ciceronian corpus is intended, and probability indicates otherwise (given the travel context). A single work is most likely. (Roberts and Skeat think an anthology possible (pp.25-6), but none of the other writings on parchment is a collection of excerpts.)

1: Comes, a travelling companion (OLD s.v. 31a), appears of books also at Hor. Serm. 2.3.11-12.

Friedländer, SG. I p.288, notes that as well as reading, travellers like the Elder Pliny also wrote on journeys (cf. Pliny Ep. 3.5.15).

1-2 putato/ carpere te longas...vias: Having just once taken a work of Cicero on a journey (hence the fut. perf. fuerit), one can claim him as a usual companion (carpere, pres. infin.). Longas...vias is paralleled by Mart. 1.2.2 cited above. The position of these words in the pentameter is standard: Citroni ad loc. with parallels. Carpo is usual of taking journeys: OLD s.v. §8.

cum Cicerone: That the author lives through his work is a common and natural perception; cf. Mart. 14.191.2 Crispus.

It is of coincidental interest that cicerone is used of a guide in modern Italian. Alfred Hoare, An Italian Dictionary,² Cambridge 1925 s.v., suggests that this usage derives from the amount of speaking a tour-guide does, but it could alternatively come from the wide knowledge he supposedly has (cicerone is also used of a pedant and, colloquially, a know-all. A blue-stocking is a cicerona).

14.189 The Monobyblos of Propertius

Cynthia, the youthful song of eloquent Propertius, received fame, and she herself did not give less.

le. Monobyblos Properti: The reading monobyblos (codd.) is certain here. Outside those MSS of Propertius which give monobyblos in titles to Book 1, however, the word survives in Classical Latin nowhere else, although it is used by Rufinus and Jerome (see A. Souter, A Glossary of Later Latin, Oxford 1949 s.v.). There are no firm witnesses of it in Classical Greek literature (but cf. Suidas s.v. Φιλόβλος, Galen 1.410K). The question as to whether monobyblos is Propertius' own title, and whether it was used of Book 1 alone or Propertius' complete works, has

accordingly been much debated. See K.-E. Henriksson, Griechische Büchertitel in der römischen Literatur, Helsinki 1956, pp. 50-55. Whether monobyblos derives from Propertius or not is of secondary relevance here. What M. understood by the monobyblos is important, however. Luckily, there is no difficulty in working it out: see G.Friedrich, RhM 62(1907) pp.370 ff. and at line 1 below.

1 Cynthia: The appositional carmen iuvenale (<iuvenale A²C²P: iuvenile QF) indicates that M. refers in this epigram to Propertius' earliest book and the first in modern editions (<pace Rothstein, Prop. vol. 2, Berlin 1898, p.345, refuted by Friedrich, op. cit. p.371). M. refers to Prop. 1 in two ways at once: he uses the incipit (cf. Prop. 1.1.1 'Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis'; see Mart. 14.185.2 n. above); and he names the principal character; cf. Mart. 14.184.1 n. and see Camps, Prop. 1, p.7 f.; also Butler and Barber p.230: 'Cynthia may be the person read about or the book which is read'. Similarly, in Greek one finds the Nanno of Mimnermus, the Leontion of Hermesianax and the Lyde of Antimachus of Colophon.

The question of Cynthia's reality is of some interest here. Maria Wyke demonstrates that she was probably a literary figment, for all that 'The narrative organisation of Propertius' first poetry-book seems to encourage a practice of reading the characters and events of his love elegy as real' (JRS 77(1987) p.41). M's perception of her, however, is hard to gauge: 'carmen iuvenale' would indicate that he saw Cynthia as a figment and a vehicle for composition, yet ipsa, line 2, and Mart. 3.73.5 (quoted below) personify. That some of Propertius' ancient readers regarded her as real is clearly indicated by Apuleius'

identifying her as a certain 'Hostia' (Apol. 10); cf. Ovid Ars 3.538 quoted below.

facundi carmen iuvenale Properti: We know from Prop. 4.1.131 ff. that Propertius began writing elegy early rather than enter the usual professions.

On facundus, see at Mart. 14.185.1 'facundi...Maronis'.

2 nec minus ipsa dedit: Love elegists commonly draw attention to the fame won for their mistresses through their poetry: cf. e.g. Ovid Am. 1.15.30, Ars 3.535 ff.:

nos facimus placitae late praeconia formae:
nomen habet Nemesis, Cynthia nomen habet,
Vesper et Eoae novere Lycorida terrae,
et multi, quae sit nostra Corinna, rogant.

But while these poets might bring fame to their ladies, they do not often acknowledge that they could not win fame for themselves without them. Hence M. comments (9.73.5 ff.):

Cynthia te vatem fecit, lascive Properti;
ingenium Galli pulchra Lycoris erat;
fama est arguti Nemesis formosa Tibulli;
Lesbia dictavit, docte Catulle, tibi:
non me Paeligni nec spernet Mantua vatem,
si qua Corinna mihi, si quis Alexis erit.

Nec B^aC^a: non A^a. Most editors print non, but nec is unobjectionable and has better MS support.

14.190 Titus Livius on parchment

Huge Livy, whom my library does not accommodate in full, is confined to small parchment sheets.

le. Titus Livius in membranis: i.e. in codex form; cf. 'pellibus exiguis', line 1. There has been much discussion as to whether the epigram refers to an epitome of Livy, or to all 142 books sufficiently miniaturised for M's library to accommodate them in their entirety. The most recent discussion is by Roberts and Skeat (ch. 5). See also E.T. Sage, TAPhA 50(1919), pp. 172-3, L. Ascher, CB 45(1969), pp. 53-4, G.W.M. Harrison, CB 56(1980), p. 44 n.6, David Sansone, CB 57(1981), pp. 86-7, J.L. Butrica, CB 59(1983), pp. 9-11. The case for miniaturisation appears the stronger.

1 pellibus exiguis artatur Livius ingens: 'Livius ingens' is picked up by 'non totum', line 2, and contrasts with exiguis.

If the epigram refers to an epitome (or selection of excerpts), artatur must mean 'is abridged'. Coartare survives with this sense at Cic. de Orat. 1.163 and Sen. Ep. 94.27, while artare is used in later Latin as a technical term for abridgement (Roberts and Skeat p. 26). 'Non totum' will then mean 'not in its entirety', i.e. 'not in all 142 books' (cf. OLD s.v. totus §2a). Evidence of early epitomising activity is assembled by Sansone, op. cit. p. 86.

There is, however, nothing surprising about a shortened edition of Livy fitting on to small parchment sheets, and those who think that epitomising is in question are rewarded by a flat and colourless epigram in which the contrast between 'pellibus exiguis' and 'Livius ingens'/'non totum' is a mere rhetorical contrivance. Those, however, who think that miniaturisation is in question meet with something altogether more satisfactory.

Before a case for the miniaturisation of all of Livy can be accepted,

the meanings of artatur and 'non totum' need re-examination.

If miniaturisation is in question, artatur must mean 'is confined', i.e. within the covers of a book. Arto survives with this sense at Hieron. Ep. 53.8.19: 'Esdras et Neemias...in unum volumen artantur'; cf. 'duodecim prophetæ in unius voluminis angustias coartati' (ibid. 6). In neither case is there any question of abridgement. There is no question of abridgement either at Mart. 1.2.3-4 (quoted at Mart. 14.188), where M. uses arto of a complete but miniature travel edition, and it would seem reasonable for him not to have used the word with a different sense here.

If artatur means 'is confined', 'non totum' must then be taken as 'not in its normal complete form', i.e. not in 142 papyrus rolls - which would certainly exceed the capacity of a private library (bibliotheca sometimes means no more than a bookcase with its contents: Smith at Petr. 48.4, Butrica op. cit. p.10). Although no exact parallels come to mind of 'non totum' taken in this sense, it seems unobjectionable enough.

A good case for miniaturisation can therefore be made from artatur, while, although it does not yield conclusive evidence, 'non totum' can be explained satisfactorily.

Leaving Mart. 14.190 aside, it is worth noting that other related epigrams are concerned with miniature editions of complete works: in Mart. 14.184, both Homeric epics are meant; in 186, all of Virgil (which is immensus) is indicated, as are all of Ovid's Metamorphoses at 192. An epitome of Livy would be out of context.

With the above stated, the only possible objection to the miniaturisation of Livy is that of practicality. Was it in fact possible

to reduce a complete text of Livy to a codex which might be accommodated by a private library? There seems no reason why not: in the context of Pliny Nat. 7.85 'in nuce inclusam Iliadem Homeri carmen in membrana scriptum tulit Cicero', Roberts and Skeat note (p.14) that Peter Bales was reportedly able to inscribe the whole Bible (some six times longer than the Iliad) into a walnut shell in the 16th Century.

14.191 Sallust

You will find here Crispus, foremost, as think the minds of learned men, in Roman history.

le. Sallustius: Sallust published two monographs, the Catiline and, shortly afterwards, the Jugurtha. His Histories, unfinished on his death, survive in fragments. Given the conspicuously placed polysyllabic historia at the end of the pentameter, the Histories are possibly the most likely candidate for the gift of his work here described (cf. Birt, Buchwesen p.81, whose opinion is similar). There can be no certainty, however.

1-2 hic erit... / primus Romana Crispus in historia: The future erit is difficult to reflect. (The translation, understanding tibi, follows the Budé.) Presumably it refers to the fact that the recipient has not yet had time to examine the gift, but just to read the epigram.

Crispus: The lemma tells the reader which 'Crispus' is meant. For the lemma's frequent explanatory function, see Mart. 14.2.3 n. above.

primus: Cf. F.R.D. Goodyear, CHCL II p.269: Sallust was 'the first recognised classic amongst Roman historians', although the pioneering work in Roman historiography was done before him.

1 ut perhibent doctorum corda virorum: Quintilian writes (Inst. 10.1.101) 'nec opponere Thucydidi Sallustium verear' (further (incidental) praise at 32 and 102), while Tacitus calls him 'rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor' (Ann. 3.30.1). The assessment of the Elder Seneca was similarly flattering (Con. 9.1.13). Chronological reasons suggest that M. did not have Tacitus specifically in mind here, nor, probably, Quintilian: see Mart. 14.194.1 n. on the dating of Quint. Inst., while for Tacitus see F.R.D. Goodyear, Tacitus (QR Surveys), Oxford 1970, p.20. For general remarks concerning Sallust and his reputation, see R. Syme, Sallust, Berkeley-London 1964, pp.1 ff., ch. 15.

Cor is commonly used of the seat of the intellect: OLD s.v. §3. Thanks to the internal rhyme, 'doctorum corda virorum' has an impressive and stately cadence which helps convey authority.

14.192 The Metamorphoses of Ovid on parchment

This bulk which comprises multiple tablets contains for you the fifteen books of Ovid.

F. Marx, Molossische und bakcheische Wortformen, Leipzig 1922, p.229, punctuates with a comma after tibi (see Heraeus ad loc. and at Mart. 1.92.5) as well as one at the end of the hexameter. This is not strictly necessary, but perhaps makes clearer the construction of the delayed relative. (For delayed relatives, see at Mart. 14.110.1 above.)

le. Ovidi Metamorphosis in membranis: There is no doubt here that this work appears in codex form ('multiplici...tabella', line 1; cf. Mart. 14.184.2 'multiplici...pelle') and that it was unabridged ('quinque decemque', line 2).

1: Massa can be used of raw materials made ('quae structa est') into some product: ThLL VIII.430.58 ff. s.v. massa [R]. While a single codex containing the Metamorphoses complete would indeed be bulky, this is not to say that the same work on papyrus rolls would not be considerably more so.

2 carmina: Singular and plural can be used interchangeably without affecting the meaning (OLD s.v. carmen §3a). Hence the plural here does not conflict with the lemma's singular Metamorphosis. (That Ovid himself preferred the plural form Metamorphoses might perhaps be suggested, however, by Trist. 1.7.13 'mutatas hominum formas'.)

gerit: Cf. Mart. 1.44.1-2 'lascivos leporum cursus lususque leonum/ quod maior nobis charta minorque gerit'.

14.193 Tibullus

Lascivious Nemesis consumed with fire her lover Tibullus, whom it pleased 'to be of no account in all his house'.

le. Tibullus: It is difficult to decide whether this gift comprises both books of Tibullus, or just one: Nemesis is the heroine of Book 2, but it is with regard to Delia that Tibullus writes 'at iuvet in tota me nihil esse domo':

rura colam, frugumque aderit mea Delia custos,
area dum messes sole calente teret.

illa regat cunctos, illi sint omnia curae:
at iuvet in tota me nihil esse domo.

Tib. 1.5.21-2, 29-30

It is not impossible that M. is simply confusing Delia and Nemesis and the books in which they feature. (Note that Ovid also gives Nemesis a line written for Delia: Am. 3.9(8).57-8 'cui Nemesis "quid" ait "tibi sunt mea damna dolori?/ me tenuit moriens deficiente manu"'; cf. Tib. 1.1.60. Similarly, it is not Tityrus (Mart. 8.55(56).7-8) who lost his lands in Verg. Ecl. 1, but Meliboeus.) M. is unlikely to have checked his references, it being easier to rely on memory.

Assuming that M. is confusing the two women and that therefore just one book is given, a present of Tib. 1 is perhaps most natural; but it is by no means certain: it is easier to attribute quotations to the wrong books than it is heroines.

If the epigram makes intentional reference to both girls, however, this would indicate that both books are given.

In referring to both girls, M. might be making a wry comment on Tibullus' inconstancy: line 2 arises from a remorseful poem in which, following separation with Delia, Tibullus is prepared to let her rule everything if only she will return. Note, however, Tib. 2.4.1 ff.:

hic mihi servitium video dominamque paratam:
iam mihi, libertas illa paterna, vale.
servitium sed triste datur, teneorque catenis,
et numquam misero vincla remittit Amor,
et seu quid merui seu nil peccavimus, urit.
uror, io, remove, saeva puella, faces.

Here, although he cannot help but toe the line (5-6; with urit and uror,

cf. ussit, line 1), Tibullus rails at Nemesis' dominion. Given the possibility that Delia and Nemesis are representatives of one and the same woman, albeit at different stages of the love affair, it could be that M. has deliberately linked Nemesis' name here with Tib. 1 to point his observation that the formerly absent Delia was not all that Tibullus had originally thought.

That M. means both books and is commenting wryly on Tibullus is the more appealing interpretation.

1 ussit amatorem: Pease has a detailed note at Verg. A. 4.2 igni on the fire of love.

The agent noun amator commonly denotes habitual philandering out of keeping with the abject nature of the true amans (cf. Cic. Tusc. 4.27 'aliud...est amatorem esse, aliud amantem' and see Brown at Lucr. 4.1177). Amantem would have been more appropriate here than amatorem, but is metrically impossible as the poem currently stands. Contrast Mart. 14.207.2, where amator is very appropriate. It is possible that M. wrote 207 first, and that 'ussit amatorem' (apparently without parallel in other poets) remained as a jingle in his mind to influence 14.193.

14.194 Lucan

There are some who declare that I am not a poet; but the bookseller who sells me thinks so.

le. Lucanus: Since we are not told specifically that this gift is on parchment, for all that the alternation hitherto of works on papyrus and parchment might initially suggest that it is, we must assume otherwise. For specific indications that works are written on parchment in codex

form, see the notes above at Mart. 14.184, 186, 188, 190, 192.

The debate as to whether Lucan's Civil War constituted poetry or not was prompted by his subject matter and rhetorical style. Those who asserted that it was not included Quintilian: 'Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus' (Inst. 10.1.90); cf. Servius at Verg. A. 1.382 'Lucanus...ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit, quia videtur historiam composuisse, non poema'. Contrast Tac. Dial. 20.5, however, where Lucan is classed by Aper as very much a poet: 'exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Acci aut Pacuvi veterno inquinatus sed ex Horati et Vergili et Lucani sacrario prolatus', and note the high regard for Lucan felt by Statius (Silv. 2 praef., 2.7).

Regarding criticism, ancient and modern, of Lucan, see in general M.P.O. Morford, The Poet Lucan, Blackwell 1967, p.ix, J.C. Bramble, CHCL II p.533.

1 sunt quidam: Whom did M. have in mind? A specific answer is impossible. If Friedländer's chronology is to be upheld (see Intro. 'Date'), Quintilian can probably be ruled out (pace Sullivan p.102): the generally accepted date for the Institutio Oratoria falls between 91/2 and 95/6 (certainly between 86 (Friedländer's terminus ante quem) and 95 (Colson, p.xvi). Petersen, ed. min. p.xii, thinks 95). Nor, for similar reasons, is Quintilian likely to number amongst the learned men of Mart. 14.191.1 or the ignorant grammarians at 14.120.2.

2 bibliopola: This word is post-Augustan (cf. Mart. 4.72.2, 13.3.4, Pliny Ep. 1.2.6, CIL VI.9218). Little is known about the bibliopola, but

it seems that he would acquire an author's MS, copy it (cf. Isid. Orig. 6.14.1) and sell it (for general discussion of the book trade, see E.J.Kenney, CHCL II pp.19 ff.). He would not, of course, have been interested in anything that had no market. (Friedländer, SG. III p.4, is probably justified in taking Tac. Dial. as an indication that Lucan was a school text (cf. Reynolds and Wilson p.24) with consequent guaranteed sales. Horace and Virgil certainly were.)

14.195 Catullus

Great Verona owes as much to its Catullus as tiny Mantua to its Virgil.

The proportions and balance of this epigram are perfect, the word-order of the pentameter corresponding exactly to that of the hexameter. (Regarding polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Intro. 'Metre'.)

For the sentiments it expresses, cf. Ovid Am. 3.15.7 'Mantua Vergilio gaudet, Verona Catullo', Mart. 1.61.1-2. The association of the two poets is natural: both were Transpadane (Mantua is near Verona), and Catullus' influence on the younger Virgil was considerable: Fordyce p.xxii.

M's opinion of Catullus was high, and Catullus influenced him greatly too: see Friedländer p.24, Sullivan pp.95-7. In Book 14, M. echoes Catullus at 206, is no doubt influenced by him at 83, and, as well as here, refers to him or his work at 77, 100, 152. At Mart. 10.103.5-6, M. compares himself with Catullus: 'nec sua plus debet tenui Verona Catullo/ meque velit dici non minus illa (i.e. Verona) suum'.

le. Catullus: As to which of Catullus' poems this gift would have included, there is room for debate.

K. Quinn, Catullus: an Interpretation, London 1972, notes (p.13) that, given the parchment codices of the complete Virgil, Livy and Ovid's Met., M. might here be referring to a one-volume edition of Catullus' complete works. We are not told specifically, however, that the edition of Catullus in question is on parchment in codex form, and we must therefore assume otherwise (cf. at Mart. 14.194. le. above). Nevertheless, the possibility remains that Catullus' complete works are given, written on papyrus. In this case, however, a single volume edition is out of the question: firstly, a complete edition of Catullus as we know it is too long to have fitted onto a single papyrus roll, and, secondly, the differing nature of Catullus' surviving poems might indicate several different publications. It has been suggested that the three groups of poems which make up our Catullus (polymetrics, longer poems, elegiacs) bear witness to three separate books of Catullus, albeit arranged possibly by a posthumous editor: see conveniently J. Ferguson, Catullus (QR survey), Oxford 1988, pp. 12-13.

Assuming that this three book theory is well founded, however, the possibility also arises that M. did not have the complete works in mind, but meant just one of these books. If he refers to one of these books, one can only speculate as to which it is: that it was the elegiacs, there is no evidence; that it was the longer poems seems unlikely: M's only reference to Catullus' Alexandrian work is pejorative: Mart. 2.86.4-5. Perhaps the polymetrics? It is possible that M. knew of a collection of poems known as Catullus' Passer, which would have included most notably the polymetric poems 2 and 3; cf. Mart. 4.14.13-14 'sic

forsan tener ausus est Catullus/ magno mittere Passerem Maroni', remembering M's reference to Lesbia's sparrow at 14.77 above.

1 magna...Verona: Cf. Strabo 5.213 πόλις μεγάλη. Contrast 'parva...Mantua', line 2. First mentioned by historians in connection with the Cenomanni (Livy 5.35; cf. Pliny Nat. 3.130), Verona is not often heard of in pre-imperial times, except as the birth-place of Catullus. But in post-Augustan times its size and importance grew, thus amply justifying the epithet magna. Unfortunately, the rebuilding means that nothing of early Verona survived until modern times, unless it was the great bridge across the Adige: I.A. Richmond and W.G. Holford, 'Roman Verona', PBSR 13(1935), p.69; cf. p.72. This bridge was destroyed in the Second World War and subsequently rebuilt.

2 parva...Mantua: Mantua is seldom mentioned in ancient literature except as Virgil's birthplace; cf. his epitaph 'Mantua me genuit...' (Vit. Don. 36). The town was of little importance in Antiquity: R.E. XIV.1359.30 s.v. Mantua [Schulten], and the archaeological remains are few: see G.Cavalieri Manasse et al., Piemonte Valle d' Aosta Liguria Lombardia (guide archeologiche Laterza), p.265.

14.196 Calvus on the use of cold water

This roll which tells you the sources and names of rivers will be better off swimming in its own waters.

L.Herrmann, Latomus 27(1968), pp.436-7, argues mistakenly that the Lucan of Mart.14.194 was written on parchment (see Mart. 14.194. le. n.). Since Calvus' poem is on papyrus (charta, line 2), he thinks that poems

196 and 195 Catullus should be transposed to secure an alternation of longer works on parchment and short ones on papyrus. But his assumption that the Catullus too is on parchment is also mistaken (see at Mart. 14.195.1e.). The transposition is untenable.

1e. Calvi de aquae frigidae usu: Given Callimachus' works περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη ποταμῶν and περὶ τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ποταμῶν (see A.W. Bulloch, CHCL I p.550; cf. Suidas s.v. Καλλίμαχος), there is no reason why the neoteric Calvus should not have written about rivers. Other discourses on rivers include that of Vibius Sequester (6th Century A.D.?), who derives his information from the Latin poets; cf. Sen. Nat. 3 'de aquis terrestribus' and Ovid. Met. 15.273-358. Considering the political, sociological and religious importance of rivers in the ancient world, it is not surprising that they attracted attention.

Nothing of Calvus' work survives which relates to rivers, however, unless it be the (not very promising) citation in Charisius, GLK. 1.81.23-4: 'stomachus etiam in pluribus singulariter dicitur, ut ait Calvus, "quorum praedulcem cibum stomachus ferre non potest"' (perhaps from a prose preface?).

Taking the MS variants Calidae Q (et fort. B^a): Caldae C^a, Herrmann suggests (loc. cit.) that M. refers not to Calvus but to the poet L. Iulius Calidus. His idea is interesting given that the lemma then yields an attractive pun on the poet's name and subject (why otherwise specify frigidae in a work on rivers?).

Nothing of Calidus' work survives at all. We know merely that, in the opinion of Nepos, he was the best poet of his day (elegantissimus) after the deaths of Lucretius and Catullus (Att. 12.4).

While Calvus might have written a poem on rivers, we do not know whether he did. In Calidus' favour are two MSS families, an attractive pun and the perhaps slightly weaker possibility that he too might have written about rivers, although again we do not know. The evidence either way is unsatisfactory, but on balance Herrmann could be right.

1 fontes...aquarum: For aqua meaning 'river', see OLD s.v. §4a. Given charta and 'suas...aqua', line 2, it is reasonable to suppose that one of these rivers was the Nile, about whose source there was considerable uncertainty; cf. Hdt 2.28.1 τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Λιβύων οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἑμοὶ ἀφικομένων ἔς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σαῖ πόλει ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. οὗτος δ' ἔμοιγε παίζειν ἔδοκεε., Pliny Nat. 5.51 'Nilus incertis ortus fontibus', Hor. Carm. 4.14.45-6, Tib. 1.7.24, Ovid Met. 2.254-5.

2 melius: For this usage, see OLD s.v. §6a. Shackleton Bailey, AJPh 110 (1989) p.150, writes 'Melius implies that Calvus' book was bad, which makes a strange motto for a present. An interpolation replacing quondam?' The answer must be negative - it was common to give bad literature at the Saturnalia: see Mart. 14.183-196 n. above.

A sounder objection to melius might have been that both Calidus and Calvus were good poets. Even Homer nods, however. With regard to Calvus, one might also recall the fate of the Zmyrna written by his fellow neoteric Cinna. It was sufficiently esoteric to justify a commentary by Crassicius Pansa soon after its publication, and that it does not survive today testifies to its narrow appeal. Calvus might have

written an equally mystifying poem on rivers which was dismissed as bad because it was incomprehensible.

Shackleton Bailey reverts to melius in his text.

Natabat, B^a, is read by Lindsay and Shackleton Bailey (not- A^a: notavit B^a). It implies, however, that the poem would have been better off never having been written. Natabit, C^a, is much preferable: one of the standard fates of bad poetry was to be consigned to the waters: cf. Mart. 1.5 'do tibi naumachiam, tu das epigrammata nobis: / vis, puto, cum libro, Marce, natare tuo', 9.58.7-8 'Nympharum templis quisquis sua carmina donat, / quid fieri libris debeat, ipse monet', 5.53, Hor. Carm. 1.16.4.

Bad poetry could otherwise be used to wrap up purchases or for cooking fish (Coleman on Stat. Sily. 4.9.11-13). One would burn one's own inferior poetry: cf. Ovid Trist. 1.7.15-16 of the Metamorphoses and note Virgil's dying request concerning the Aeneid.

For nato with accusative meaning 'swim in', see OLD s.v. nato S1b; cf. Mart. 1.49.9-10 'tepidi natabis lene Congedi vadum / mollesque Nympharum lacus'.

14.197 Dwarf mules

A fall from these mules is not to be feared: you are accustomed to sit almost higher on the ground.

le. mulae pumilae: Verus gives carriages with mules and muleteers as apophoreta: S.H.A. Verus 5; cf. Homer Od. 15.85 δού' ἡμιόνους. Such animals were therefore possibly common gifts.

Mules and asses were usually over-worked and badly treated. Consider Lucius' experiences as an ass at the mill (Apul. Met. 9. For donkeys and mules in general, see Keller I pp. 259 ff.) Dwarf mules fared differently, however, being too expensive to abuse and being physically unsuited for all but the lightest tasks. They would have been treated as pets, and would have made suitable mounts for children: this epigram possibly has in mind a child nervous of falling. (For children's Saturnalian gifts, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and at Mart. 14.19.2 above.)

The Romans were intrigued by dwarfs and other physical oddities. See Howell at Mart. 1.43.10, Mayor (in great detail) at Juv. 8.32-33. For animal dwarves, cf. Pliny Nat. 11.260 'pumilionum genus in omnibus animalibus est, atque etiam inter volucres', Col. RR. 8.2.14 'pumiles aves' (Ac: pumileas S), i.e. bantams. There was a special market at Rome for human dwarves etc., who, like miniature animals, could command high prices. Their growth was sometimes deliberately stunted to exploit the market (Mayor at Juv. 8.32) and it is certain that this would have applied to animals too.

Although T's adjectival use of pumilus is apparently unparalleled (at Stat. Sily. 1.6.64, read pugiles with Friederich), the form of the word itself is confirmed by Stat. Sily. 1.6.57 (see at Mart. 14.212.1e., q.v. also for arguments against B^a's pomiliae). It is therefore to be adopted. C^a's paulae is probably a gloss.

2 paene B^aC^a: saepe T (cum f). The paradoxically humorous paene is rightly preferred by Heraeus, the Budé and the Loeb: so little is this mule that when sitting on the ground one is just about higher than if

mounted. What reason then to fear a fall? Cf. Sen. Ep. 76.31 'non est magnus pumilio, licet in monte constiterit'. Saepe, favoured by Shackleton Bailey and Lindsay, is colourless in contrast.

14.198 A Gallic puppy

If you want to hear the delights of a small puppy, a whole page is short for me in recounting them.

le. catella Gallicana: Dogs had always been kept for keeping watch and for hunting. Increasingly in the early Empire, they were kept as pets, especially by women. This epigram might at first glance suggest such a pet. Pet dogs were probably often of the Maltese kind, however (Jennison pp. 19, 127), and although catella can be used of a lap dog (as, clearly, at Mart. 7.87.3), it is unlikely that the puppy here described, despite its youthful charms, was intended either for a woman or child, or as a pet: Gallic puppies grew, and Gallic dogs were especially known for hunting.

Ellis identifies two types of Gallic dog when commenting on Catul. 42.9 'ridentem catuli ore Gallicani'. That meant by Catullus was shaggy and ugly; it whined, looked villainous and was used for tracking (Arrian Cyn. 3.1, 5). The other, the vertragus (cf. Mart. 14.200) was swift, fine to look at and used for coursing (Arrian Cyn. 3.6 f.; see too Jennison p.127 and cf. Mart. 3.47.11 quoted at Mart. 14.200.2 below, Ovid Met. 1.533 f. 'ut canis in vacuo leporem cum Gallicus arvo/vidit').

It is difficult to decide to which type of Gallic dog this puppy belongs. Given Mart. 14.200 vertragus, it is natural to think of the tracking dog here, save that its features and characteristics are less

obviously in accord with delicias, line 1.

Concerning Roman dogs in general, see Keller I pp 91 ff., Toynbee pp. 108 ff.

Use of catella/-us is documented by Colton (pp.254 f., 263). See too ThLL III.603.15 ff. s.v. catellus.

1: Delicias refers not to the puppy itself but the pleasures it affords (see OLD s.v. delicia §1a. The plural form is usually used). This usage must be distinguished from that of deliciae to mean 'pet', as at Catul. 2.1, Petr. 137.2, Mart. 1.109.5, a usage inappropriate to the particular dog in question (see above).

2 brevis est pagina tota: The pleasures afforded by a Gallic puppy are many (to speculate as to the size of M's page is to be over-literal and, given the variation of papyrus size (see E.J.Kenney in CHCL II, p.17), is futile anyway). Instead of trying to enumerate these pleasures, M. leaves that up to the reader's imagination. Contrast Mart. 1.109 where he recounts the qualities of the pet dog Issa in 23 hendecasyllables.

Despite the pleasure it gives, this puppy is not an expensive gift, at any rate when compared to dwarf-mules and Asturian horses (Mart. 14.199).

14.199 An Asturian horse

This small horse, which picks up its quick hoof in measured time, comes from gold-bearing tribes, an Asturian steed.

1e. Asturco: Asturia was a district in N.W. Spain (see Kl.P. 1.667.31 ff. s.v. 'Asturia' [R.Grossel], OCD² s.v. 'Astures'). For Spanish horses,

see Keller I p.231 f. Asturian horses were expensive: Petr. 26.6 'scis quanto facilius sit columbas gallosque gallinaceos emere quam asturconem, et praeter hoc etiam timebam ne tam grande munus suspectam faceret humanitatem meam'; cf. Suet. Nero 46.1: Nero had a favourite Asturian horse. This horse corresponds with the valuable dwarf mules of Mart. 14.197.

1 hic brevis ad numeros rapidum qui colligit unguem: Cf. Pliny Nat. 8.166 'in eadem Hispania Gallaica gens et Asturica equini generis, quos theldones vocamus, minore forma appellatos asturcones, gignunt quibus non vulgaris in cursu gradus sed mollis alterno crurum explicatu glomeratio, unde equis tolutim capere incursum traditur arte'.

Being 'lectio difficilior', most editors favour T's reading 'ad numeros...rapidum...unguem': the collective singular unguem is quite admissible in poetry, while for the plural 'ad numeros', see below. C^a's 'ad numerum...rapidos...ungues' transmits the attempts of a puzzled scribe to make the hexameter's singulars and plural obey strict logical sense. B^a's 'ad numerum...rapidum...unguem' was prompted by similar puzzlement, but lacks the pleasing variation of number in the other MS families.

ad numeros: See OLD s.v. numerus §13c for the word's use of rhythmic movement. It is applied to dancing at Ovid Met. 14.175 'ad numerum motis pedibus duxere choreas'; cf. Sil. 3.347-8 'nunc, pedis alterno percussa verberare terra, / ad numerum resonas gaudentem plaudere caetras' (of clashing shields in time to music). With the plural usage here, cf.

Pers. 5.122-3 'nec, cum sis cetera fossor, / tris tantum ad numeros Satyrum moveare Bathylli', Sen. Dial. 9.17.4.

rapidum qui colligit unguem: For this and similar uses of colligo, see ThLL III.1616.37 f. s.v. colligo [Wullf]. An exact parallel appears not to survive. Unguis survives elsewhere of a horse's hoof at Gratt. 511 'ante opus excussis cadet unguibus (sc. such a horse)'. It is also used of the toes of cloven hooves: OLD s.v. unguis §2c.

2 venit ab auriferis gentibus Astur equus: For Asturian gold, see Kl.P. loc. cit. and R.E. II.1863.32 ff. s.v. Asturia [Hübner]. For Spanish gold, see too at Mart. 14.95.1 above.

Astur is used adjectivally also at Macr. 5.15.4 'ducem Asturem'.

14.200 A swift-running hound

Not for himself but for his master hunts the keen and swift-running hound, who will bring unwounded to you the hare in its teeth.

le.: Of Celtic or Gallic origin, the word vertragus is rare and, not surprisingly, is garbled by the MSS (cf. the variants vertraham, AE, and ventraham, γ, at Gratt. 203). Holder discusses the word in detail (Altkelt III s.v. vertragus), referring e.g. to Arrian Cyn. 3.6 αἱ δὲ ποδώκεις κύνες αἱ Κελτικαὶ καλοῦνται μὲν οὐερτραγοὶ φωνῇ τῇ Κελτῶν... ἄπο τῆς ὠκύτητος. As Arrian was aware, it means literally 'fast runner': ver- is an intensifier while -trag- (cf. IE* tregh-) compares with τρέχω (see OLD s.v. vertragus).

Hares were appropriate game for dogs; cf. Mart. 1.22.5. Artistic depictions of hares and hounds are common, especially on Samian pottery.

The Bath museum contains a striking relief of a hound chasing a hare which is airborne and apparently unaffected by gravity.

1 non sibi sed domino venatur vertragus acer: Contrast Mart. 14.217, which describes a hawk aggrieved at having to hunt for its master: the emphatic placing of 'non sibi' here, reinforced by tibi (line 2), helps suggest the dog's willingness.

The alliteration of venatur and vertragus is attractive. For acer describing the keen senses of dogs, see OLD s.v. acer §4.

2: Inlaesum recalls the hare and lion topos which permeates Book 1; cf. Mart. 1.6.2 inlaesum and see Howell's index s.v. 'hares': the lion plays with the hare but lets it go unhurt. This is miraculous, especially given that hares could be wounded by much smaller and less savage dogs: cf. Mart. 3.47.11 'leporemque laesum Gallici canis dente'. Although a P gift in contrast to mules and Asturian horses, the dog in this epigram has been particularly well trained.

For the orthography of inlaesum, see Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.42.

14.201-223:

These epigrams alternate gifts of slaves (Mart. 14.201, 203, 205, 208, 210, 212, 214, 216, 218, 220, 222) with cheaper gifts usually associated in some way with these slaves (for complementary epigram pairs, see Mart. 14.31.le. n. above).

Many of the epigrams describe food or slaves associated with food and dinner-time entertainments. Giving as apophoreta the slaves who had waited on or entertained guests at dinner is a natural if expensive

extension of giving uneaten food to guests to take home; see Mohler p.254; cf. Dio Cass. 67.9.5, S.H.A. Ver. 5.

Regarding the precise cost of slaves, evidence is scarce. It seems that for legal purposes, a slave price of 2000 HS was assumed, but prices varied greatly according to skills and appearances. See Kay p.153, who refers to R.Duncan Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire, Cambridge 1974, pp.348 ff.

14.201 A wrestler

I do not love him because he wins, but because he knew how to give in and has learned better the art of bed-wrestling.

le. palaestrita: Usually used of a teacher of wrestling or the director of a wrestling school or athletic park (OLD s.v. palaestrita; cf. Cic. Verr. 2.36, 54), palaestrita (παλαιστρίτης) can also mean a wrestler, as here; cf. Mart. 3.82.20, Amm. 15.3.4.

This particular wrestler is impressive not so much for his success in the ring as his sexual capabilities (see below). Athletes were regularly thought to have sexual appeal (cf. e.g. Hor. Carm. 3.7.25 f., Tib. 1.4.9 ff.), and the allure to women of gladiators, circus charioteers and the like was notorious (see Friedländer SG. I p.246 f.). Of course, such athletes might also have appealed to certain men: given succumbere, line 1 (q.v. ad loc.), it is possible that this wrestler is a cinaedus.

Sexual intercourse was often referred to as 'wrestling' (see Adams pp. 157 ff., esp. 158; cf. Mart. 10.55.4 'idem (sc. penis) post opus et suas palaestras/ loro cum similis iacet remisso', Theoc. 7.125, A.P. 5.259.5), and palaestrita here might be glossed as 'sexual sparring partner'.

It is perhaps debatable whether this epigram qualifies as being obscene. Nevertheless, regarding obscene epigrams in M., see at Mart. 14.69 above.

For slaves given as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.201-223 n. above. For wrestlers at dinner parties, cf. Mart. 3.82.20.

1: Most editors print vincat (T cum f); but Shackleton Bailey is surely right to prefer vincit (B^AC^A): wrestlers are normally loved because they actually win fights, not because they might do so.

Succumbere, which contrasts with vincit, has two meanings: it can be used of giving way in something (like a fight); see OLD s.v. succumbere §3a. But it can also be used, usually of a woman, of submitting to sexual intercourse. See OLD s.v. succumbere §2a, L-S s.v. succumbo §1B1; cf. e.g. Catul. 111.3, Petr. 126.9 'ego adhuc servo numquam succubui'. This wrestler is loved not because, like other wrestlers, he wins fights, but, paradoxically, because he is a loser, that is because he is sexually available.

Nosco often means 'know how to': see OLD s.v. nosco §9b. Novit here reminds the reader that the art of losing is something not usually mastered by wrestlers: this fighter has had to learn to channel his energies differently (cf. 'didicit melius', line 2). The perfect tense suggests that his knowledge has been tested.

C^A's non vult betrays misunderstanding of succumbere's sexual sense.

2 τὴν ἐπιχλινόπαλιν: This conjecture by Gilbert is certainly correct: cf. Suet. Dom. 22 'assiduitatem concubitus velut exercitationis genus

clinopalen vocabat', Aurelius Victor de Caesaribus 11.5 'postquam ad libidinem minus virium erat, cuius foedum excercitium Graecorum lingua κλινοπάλην vocabat'. Although the term does not survive in wrestling contexts, it was surely part of the wrestling vocabulary (compare Adams loc. cit.). Otherwise the humour of the poem is greatly reduced: this wrestler does not know the throw/ grip called the ἐπικλινοπάλη; rather, he knows something better (cf. melius), sc. the art of sex, or fighting in bed.

According to Heraeus, M. might have added ἐπί to κλινοπάλην in filling out the pentameter. This is possible, but one should ask whether M. was not poet enough not to need the alteration of technical terms for metrical purposes: ἐπικλινοπάλη might well have existed in its own right.

As to the precise manner of grip/ throw in wrestling denoted by the term ἐπικλινοπάλη, one can merely speculate. Friedländer explains the word ad loc. (with Gilbert) as τὴν τῷ ἐπικλίνειν γιγνομένην πάλην, where ἐπικλίνειν means 'nach vorn neigen'.

Regarding M's use of Greek in erotic contexts, see Weinreich, Studien p.163f; cf. Mart. 10.69.5, 11.58.12 λαικάζειν (with Kay). As well as Weinreich, see T.Birt, RhM 79(1930), pp.312-3: M. uses unusual Greek words in obscene contexts where a Latin equivalent is lacking.

For M's polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Mart. 14.58.2 n. and Intro. 'Metre' above.

14.202 A monkey

If I, a monkey skilled at avoiding discharged spears, were to have a tail, I would be a long-tailed monkey.

le.: Simius could be used either as a general Latin term for a monkey, or it could be used specifically, as here, to mean the Barbary ape: see W.C.McDermott, The Ape in Antiquity, Baltimore 1938, p.104. Further discussion of monkeys can be found in Toynbee, ch. 3 and R.E. 1.706.10 ff. s.v. Affe [Oder]. See too O.Jahn, Archäologische Beiträge, Berlin 1847, pp.434 ff. Toynbee provides illustrations of monkeys in reliefs (plates 13-14).

The connection implied between wrestlers and trained monkeys is not without humour. Monkeys might not have been cheap, but they would certainly have cost less than slaves.

1 callidus emissas eludere simius hastas: Apes were kept as performers rather than pets, and were renowned for their intelligence: note callidus; cf. Pliny Nat. 8.215, Aelian NA 6.10 (of baboons); see Toynbee p.57. f. For monkeys trained in weaponry, cf. Juv. 5.153 ff.:

tu scabie frueris mali, quod in aggere rodit
qui tegitur parma et galea metuensque flagelli
discit ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella.

See also Friedländer SG. II p.70, R.E. loc. cit. 707.8 ff., Jennison pp.128-9, McDermott op. cit. pp.121, 137 ff.

2 cercopithecus eram: Like simius, πίθηκος could be used generally of monkeys, or it could refer specifically to the Barbary ape (McDermott op. cit. pp.36, 104. See too p.100 n.72: simius and πίθηκος are regularly treated as equivalents in the glossaries). There were two varieties of Barbary ape: that best known in Italy had a tail or χέρκος.

There was also, however, a tail-less variety (Toynbee p.55), to which M. refers here ('si mihi cauda foret'), achieving humour by drawing attention to the literal meaning of cercopithecus.

Colton documents use of the word cercopithecus in M. and Juvenal (p.255). It occurs elsewhere in M. at 7.87.4 and 14.128.2.

14.203 A girl from Cadiz

She thrusts with such quiverings, she itches so yearningly that she would have made a wanker of Hippolytus himself.

le. puella Gaditana: For slave entertainers given as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.201-223 n. above. Cadiz was noted for its gyrating dancing girls, for whom cf. Juv. 11.162-4 'forsitan expectes ut Gaditana canoro/ incipient prurire choro plausuque probatae/ ad terram tremulo descendant clune puellae'; see G.Wille, Musica Romana, Amsterdam 1967, pp. 200, 313. M. refers to them again e.g. at Mart. 1.61.9, 5.78.26-28 (in an invitation to a frugal dinner): 'nec de Gadibus improbis puellae/ vibrabunt sine fine prurientes/ lascivos docili tremore lumbos', 11.16.4. Mart. 1.41.12 compares in derogatory fashion a self-styled wit with a lewd dance master from Cadiz: the associations of the place were not entirely wholesome; cf. Pliny's high moral tone regarding Gaditanae at Ep. 1.15.3.

Discussions of the dancing girls of Cadiz include Marquardt Prl. p.338, Blümner Priv. p.412, Fear pp. 75-79, Howell p.197. Further references can be found in Kay, p.103. Gaditane dancing girls featured at Domitian's Saturnalian show: Stat. Sily. 1.6.71.

1 tam tremulum crisat, tam blandum prurit: For the construction of tremulum and blandum, cf. Petr. 127.1 'delectata illa risit tam blandum, ut...'. With tremulum, cf. Juv. 11.162 'tremulo...clune', and the motions described at Mart. 5.78.26 ff. quoted above. Criso is used of female motion during intercourse (Adams p.136), simulated here by the dancer. That a similarity was seen between dancers' movements and sexual motions, there is no doubt: see Adams p.194.

For prurio in this sense, see OLD s.v. prurio §2a; cf. Mart. 5.78.27 quoted above, 9.90.7-8 'sic uni tibi...castissima pruriat puella'. Adams is disappointingly brief on the word (p.188). Again, carnal longing would have been simulated in the girl's dance, as is done by certain female pop. singers today.

Obscenity in M. is discussed generally at 14.69 above.

1-2 ut ipsum/ masturbatorem fecerit Hippolytum: Cf. Priap. 19.4-6 'crisabit tibi fluctuante lumbo:/ haec sic non modo te, Priape, possit,/ privignum quoque sed movere Phaedrae'.

Hippolytus rejected his step-mother Phaedra's advances, thus becoming a byword for chastity and/ or sexual indifference (cf. e.g. Mart. 8.46.2). For details, see OCD² s.v. Hippolytus, Roscher I.2681 ff. s.v. Hippolytus [Sauer]. That even Hippolytus would have been aroused by this dancing girl is testimony to her skill. For the power of a Gaditane dancing girl to arouse even the most unlikely people, cf. also Mart. 6.71.

masturbatorem: Although this word's verbal form survives at Mart. 9.41.7 and 11.104.13, masturbator occurs nowhere else in surviving Latin

literature (ThLL VIII.434.10 f. s.v. masturbator [Deickel]). The origins of the verb masturbor are discussed by Adams, pp.209 ff., who argues that it could not have been a recent formation when M. used it, since then its structure would have been obvious. Given the lack of parallels in other authors (see ThLL VIII.434.14 ff. s.v. masturbor [Deickel]), Adams suggests that M. might have resuscitated an obsolescent verb form, rejecting at length the attempts by J.P.Hallett, Glotta 54(1976) pp.292 ff., to derive the word from mas '(allegedly used in an unattested sense 'male genitalia')' and turbare as being 'unconvincing, and beset by mistakes of a phonological and morphological kind'.

Roman attitudes to masturbation are discussed by Hallett, op. cit. p.301; cf. Kay at Mart. 11.104.13: masturbation was condemned by the Romans only if it was practised to the exclusion of all other sexual activity: cf. Mart. 9.41, noting 'quod numquam futuis', line 1. The use here of the agent noun masturbator, however, suggests habitual practice (cf. the use of amator at Mart. 14.207.2), and its application to the chaste and upright Hippolytus therefore constitutes a slur against him. Under the influence of this dancer, he would not only have been aroused, but would have sought a contemptible form of relief.

M. achieves effect by delaying Hippolytum. For M's use of polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Intro. 'Metre'. It is only here in Book 14 that the polysyllabic pentameter ending is a Greek proper noun (although cf. Mart. 14.214.2 Δὶς ἑξαπατῶν; other polysyllabic Greek pentameter endings are listed above at Mart. 14.58.2).

14.204 Cymbals

The hungry eunuch is accustomed often to sell the bronze cymbals which mourn the Mother's beloved from Celaenae.

le. cymbala: Although mentioned here in the context of Cybele, cymbals would also have been used by Spanish dancing girls (cf. Stat. Silv. 1.6.71 'illic cymbala tinulaeque Gades'; castanets were used too: see Mayor at Juv. 11.172, Fear p.76): this epigram describes the cheap counterpart of the dancer in Mart. 14.203.

Regarding cymbals used for Cybele worship, see Marquardt St.V. p.369 and n.3. They were also used in the worship of Isis. Their religious usage is discussed generally in D-S, II(2) p.1697 f. s.v. cymbala [E.Pottier]. For illustrations (here in an Isis context), see Michael Grant, The Art and Life of Pompeii and Herculaneum, Milan 1979, p.76.

1 Celaenaeos...Matris amores: Cf. Mart. 5.41.2 f.: '...concupino mollior Celaenaeo,/ quem sectus ululat matris entheae Gallus'. For the great mother goddess Cybele, see Bömer at Ovid Fast. 4.182. Attis, Cybele's youthful consort, was associated with Celaenae, a Phrygian city. An Eastern import, he obtained official status at Rome under Claudius, the cult of Cybele being popular from early on (compare Hollis at Ars 1.507-8) and having appeal in particular to agriculturalists.

According to one popular tradition, having broken a vow of chastity, Attis was driven into a frenzy and castrated himself, dying in consequence (Ovid Fast. 4.223 f.; a slightly different version at Met. 10.104 f.). It was to emulate Attis that Cybele's devotees later emasculated themselves, and it was to mourn his death that cymbals were played; hence 'aera lugentia'.

For the other accounts of Attis' emasculation and death, see OCD³ s.v. Attis, Kl.P. 1.725.46 ff. s.v. Attis [H.v.Geisau].

On amores referring to a beloved, see at Mart. 14.206.1 below.

2 esuriens Gallus: According to Ovid (see Bömer at Fast. 4.182), Galli derived their name originally from the Phrygian river Gallus. Those who drank its waters became possessed and castrated themselves (cf. Ovid Fast. 4.361 'qui se excidere').

For Cybele's Galli, see OCD³ s.vv. Eunuchs, Religious and Metragyrtes, Kl.P. 3.1279.26 s.v. Metragyrtai [W.Pötscher]. They were temple attendants or wandering mendicants rather than priests (Lucian Syr.D. 43, Apul. Met. 8.24). Dressed often as women (Bömer at Ovid Fast. 4.182), they travelled in bands dancing, prophesying and begging.

The Romans thought little of transvestitism and regarded castration with the deep suspicion reserved for unnatural practices. (Castration became illegal under Domitian's edict of 82; see Coleman at Stat. Silv. 4.3.13-15 for details.) It is not surprising then that Galli were heartily despised (Juvenal 8.171-6 describes one as a down and out in Ostia; St. Augustine's chapter 'de turpitudine sacrorum matris magnae' (de Civ. Dei. 7.26) is vehemently hostile. See generally Pease at Verg. A. 4.215, Hollis at Ovid Ars 1.507-8.) It is probably a result of this lack of esteem that their begging was unsuccessful and that they were therefore hungry. Their alleged readiness to sell ('vendere saepe') such items as religious cymbals is of course a sneer against them.

With esuriens, cf. Juv. 3.78 'Graeculus esuriens'. While esuriens can be used disinterestedly of hunger or poverty, it seems also sometimes to

have had negative and even derogatory connotations (which are not fully explained in ThLL, V(2).867.51 ff. s.v. esuriens [Mehnell]).

14.205 A boy

Let me have a boy smooth through age rather than by way of the pumice, on account of whom no girl would please me.

le. puer: General comment on such expensive apophoreta as slaves is given at Mart. 14.201-223 n. above. The boy here, a cup-bearer perhaps, is a catamite; for this meaning of puer, see at Mart. 14.171.2 above.

1 aetate...non pumice levis: Body hair was considered a sexual turn-off; cf. A.P. 5.277, 12.30, 36. But although depilation was demanded of women (cf. Ovid Ars 3.194), male depilation was frowned upon, and prepubescent ἐπώμενοι were preferred.

Methods of depilation varied from the pumice stone (as here; cf. Pliny Ep. 2.11.23, Ovid Ars 1.506 'nec tua mordaci pumice crura teras') to plucking (Suet. Jul. 45.2) and the use of a resin-like pitch (Pliny Nat. 14.123, 29.26).

The adjective levis is here used of prepubescent hairlessness without negative overtones (cf. Quint. Inst. 12.10.8 'levis genas', Juv. 3.111 'sponsus levis adhuc', Hor. Carm. 4.6.28 - of Apollo). It is, however, used disparagingly of grown pathic homosexual males (cf. e.g. Ovid Ars 3.437).

2 propter quem placeat nulla puella mihi: The standard formula for protesting love was to say to a girl 'tu mihi sola places' (Ovid Ars 1.42, Prop. 2.7.19, [Tib.] 3.19.3). It is perhaps partly due to M's

observance of this formula that he uses mihi here but nobis in line 1; but metrical considerations might also have had weight.

The speaker in this epigram is apparently not averse to girls, but regards them as inferior to a beautiful boy; A.P. 12.17 is more extreme: to the author of that epigram girls have no appeal at all.

14.206 A cestos

Round your neck, boy, twine the very essence of love, a cestos warm from the bosom of Venus.

Concerning M's use of hendecasyllables, see Intro. 'Metre' above. This poem echoes Catul. 13 (see at line 1), also hendecasyllabic, which perhaps explains M's choice of metre here.

ie. cestos: κέστος, meaning literally 'pricked', 'stitched' and therefore 'embroidered', was applied to a band used to support the breasts and especially those of Venus/Aphrodite. Hera used Aphrodite's κέστος ἱμάς to seduce Zeus so that the Greeks might gain advantage in the fighting (Homer Il. 14.214 ff.):

ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο κέστων ἱμάντα
 ποικίλον, ἔνθα τέ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο·
 ἔνθ' ἐνὶ μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἡμερος, ἐν δ' ὀάριστος
 πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονέοντων.
 τὸν ῥα οἱ ἔμβαλε χερσὶν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·
 'τῇ νῦν, τοῦτον ἱμάντα τεῶ' ἐγκάτθεο κόλπῳ,
 ποίκιλον, ὃ ἐνὶ πάντα τετεύχεται· οὐδέ σε φημι
 ἄπρηκτόν γε νεέσθαι, ὅ τι φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς.

When wearing his cestos, perhaps like a cravat, the addressee in M's epigram would be able to arouse his lovers.

Κέστος comes easily to mean charms in general rather than those induced specifically by a garment: cf. Alciphron 4.11.7 ἅπαντα ἐκείνη γε

τὸν καστὸν ὑπέζωστο. But given the concrete nature of this gift, this is not the case here.

For clothing as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.124-138 n. above.

1 puer: If the boy in Mart. 14.205 was to out-do feminine competition for the attentions of the speaker, he might have needed special help. This P gift of a cestos warm from the breasts of Venus is therefore his complement. For complementary pairs of R and P gifts, see Mart. 14.31. le. n. above.

meros amores: Cf. Catul. 13.9 'accipies meros amores', referring to an ointment. There Catullus invites Fabullus to a dinner which he cannot afford to provide, offering only the ointment worn by his girl, which he knows his guest will like (along with its wearer). Readers are possibly intended to remember Catullus' poverty in the context of this cheap gift.

Meros indicates the considerable potency of this cestos in arousing love. The application of the plural amores to things arousing love/approval (here and at Catul. 13.9) is less common than its use of a beloved person - as at Mart. 14.204.1; cf. Catul. 10.1 with Fordyce.

2 de Veneris sinu calentem: Cf. Homer Il. 14.214 quoted above. The warmth of breasts is commonplace; but given the arousing properties of this cestos, caleo's use of a lover's fiery passion perhaps has some relevance (see OLD s.v. caleo §6).

14.207 The same

Take up a cestos treated with Cytherian nectar; this belt enflamed Jupiter, the lover.

le.: Regarding the cestos and its value, see at Mart. 14.206 above. This epigram refers specifically to Homer Il. 14.214 ff., quoted at Mart. 14.206.le. n.

1 Cytheriaco medicatum nectare: Venus had a shrine on Cythera. The adjective Cytheriacus first survives in Ovid; see Bömer at Fast. 3.611; cf. 4.15, Ep. 7.60.

When given to mortals, nectar, the drink of the gods, could cause their metamorphosis (see OLD s.v. nectar 31b). Thus this cestos has power to arouse love where previously there was none. Before borrowing Aphrodite's cestos, Hera washed herself with ambrosia, the other divine foodstuff.

2 ussit amatorem balteus iste Iovem: Cf. Mart. 14.193.1 'ussit amatorem' and the note ad loc. Jupiter (Zeus) was notorious for his amatory conquests, which he lists when, while being seduced by Hera, he claims to be more aroused by her than he was by his other loves (Homer Il. 14.315 ff.). M's use of the agent noun amator is therefore appropriate here. That this cestos could enflame thoroughly even the professional charmer Jupiter testifies to its qualities: 'balteus iste' stresses that the cestos of this poem is the very same as that used by Hera and if it worked then (notice the tense of ussit), it will work again.

Balteus is elsewhere used of Venus' cestos at Apul. Met. 2.8. Although

used mostly of a baldric, it can also be used of a woman's girdle (OLD s.v. balteus §2a).

14.208 A stenographer

Although the words run forth, his hand is faster than they: not yet has the tongue finished its task than has the right hand.

1e. The notarius was a short-hand secretary and, like the other slaves given as apophoreta, he was an expensive gift (see Mart. 14.201-223 n. above). For short-hand secretaries, cf. Pliny Ep. 3.5.15, 9.36.2, Quint. Inst. 7.2.24 (commenting on the inaccuracy of court notarii), CIL VI.10229.43. With this epigram, cf. in particular CIL XIII.8355.12 ff. (a tomb inscription): 'puer...iam doctus in compendia/ tot literarum et nominum/ notare currenti stilo,/ quot lingua currens diceret./ etc.'; contrast Sen. Apoc. 9.2 'is multa diserte...dixit, quae notarius persequi non potuit'.

Regarding shorthand in antiquity, cf. Sen. Ep. 90.25 'quid verborum notas quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio et celeritatem linguae manus sequitur?'; see R.E. XI.2217 ff. s.v. Kurzschrift [Weinberger], IVA.1996.38 s.v. ταχυγράφοι [Weinberger], D-S IV(1) p.105 col. 2 s.v. notarius [Ch.Lécrivain], Blumner Priv. p.320.

1: Curro is here used specifically of rapid speech, but, as velocior suggests, it can also apply to writing; see OLD s.v. curro §5; cf. CIL XIII.8355 quoted above, Mart. 14.209.2 below.

2: That the verb peregit is shared by both lingua and dextra helps indicate the notarius' speed in getting the words down. Indeed, so

skilled is he that he writes them almost before they are uttered (note velocior, line 1, and nondum).

With dextra, cf. Ovid Ep. 11.3 'dextra tenet calamum', Met. 9.522.

For opus meaning 'task', see OLD s.v. opus §1b. The word is used specifically, as often, of a literary work at Mart. 14.2.2, q.v. ad loc.

14.209 A shell

Let the Mareotic husk be made smooth by a sea-shell: the reed will race along on an unimpeded path.

le. concha: Mareotica, line 1, means 'Egyptian': Lake Mareotis is separated from the sea by the strip of land on which Alexandria was built, and served as the third of Alexandria's harbours; see R.E. XIV.1676.12 ff. s.vv. Marea, Mareotis [Kees]. The area was famous in antiquity for its wine (N-H at Hor. Carm. 1.37.14), but it produced other commodities as well - like papyrus.

The best quality papyrus was made from strips taken from the reed's centre (Pliny Nat. 13.74). The husk (cortex, line 1) produced papyrus of the lowest quality.

The roughness of this papyrus meant that it had to be smoothed down before use. Sea-shells were used, their outsides providing a suitably abrasive surface. Hence this gift is the cheap counterpart of the notarius (Mart. 14.208; note the use of curro in both epigrams): for quick writing, one needed smooth papyrus.

1 levis ab aequorea...concha: Cf. Pliny Nat. 13.81 'scabritia [sc. chartae] levigatur dente conchae, sed caducae litterae fiunt (because the ink did not adhere well to the resultant shiny surface). As well as

sea-shells, pumice could be used (see Ellis at Catul. 22.8), although it was apparently reserved for polishing fine quality papyrus; cf. Mart. 8.72.1.

2 inoffensa curret harundo via: For reed pens, see at Mart. 14.38 fascēs calamorum. Scribes would normally write on the side of the papyrus where the fibres ran horizontally, this being easier. In exceptional cases we hear of papyrus written on both sides (Reynolds & Wilson p. 4) and then especially it would have needed smoothing.

For inoffensus meaning 'smooth', see OLD s.v. inoffensus Sib.

14.210 An idiot

His stupidity isn't a sham nor is it feigned through crafty art. Whoever has not wit beyond what is right has wit enough.

le. morio: Being genuinely mentally handicapped (cf. line 1), moriones differed from scurrae, i.e. jesters and the like, who merely played the fool (For the latter, see P.B. Corbett, The Scurra, Edinburgh 1986). Like the dwarves at Mart. 14.212, an epigram balancing this one, they would have provided entertainment, e.g. at dinner parties. For slave entertainers given as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.201-223 n. above.

Not all found the entertainment provided by such people as moriones agreeable: see the views of Julius Genitor recorded at Pliny Ep. 9.17. Nevertheless, some people would pay a good price for a true fool: cf. Mart. 8.13 'morio dictus erat: viginti milibus emi./ redde mihi nummos, Gargiliane: sapit'.

Moriones appear in M. also at 3.82.24, 5.39.17 and 12.93.3. See generally Blümner Priv. p.412 and n.6, Marquardt Pr1. pp.152 n.5, 338 n.5.

Although morus (cf. μωρός) appears in Latin comedy, the word morio does not survive before the Silver Age.

2 quisquis plus iusto non sapit, ille sapit: i.e. he has wit enough who has no more wit than he needs. This morio is witless and so has all the intelligence needed to be a fool. Most Romans would not have found the humour of this epigram cruel.

Although this line has a proverbial ring, Otto gives no parallels. With it, contrast Mart. 8.13 (quoted above); there the morio has too much wit to be a fool.

14.211 A ram's head

You have severed the soft neck of Phryxus' ram. Did he who gave you your tunic merit this, you cruel man?

1e. caput vervecinum: Sheep were regarded as stupid: cf. Pliny Nat. 8.199 'quam stultissima animalium lanata' and see Courtney at Juv. 10.49-50. Vervex is regularly used of a 'mutton head' or idiot: Plaut. Merc. 567, Juv. 10.49 f. 'summos posse viros...vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci' with Mayor in detail, Chrysippus ap. Sen. Dial. 17.1. This gift is therefore the cheap version of Mart. 14.210 morio.

Sheep's heads were eaten by the poor: cf. Juv. 3.293-4 'quis tecum sectile porrum/ sutor et elixi vervecis labra comedit'; see Blümner Priv. p.173. For food given as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.69-72 n. above.

Although vervex is fairly common, the adjective vervecinus is not, apparently surviving only here, at S.H.A. Comm. 1.9 and Arn. 5.3 'capite vervecino'.

1 mollia secuisti colla: For seco used of decapitation, cf. e.g. Verg. A. 9.331-2 '[sc. famulos etc...premit...] ferroque secat pendentia colla;/ tum caput ipsi aufert domino' and see OLD s.v. seco S1b.

Mollis describes a neck also at Verg. A. 11.622 'mollia colla (sc. equorum) reflectunt', albeit there indicating supple pliancy. It refers more probably here to the throat's texture beneath a blade.

Phryxei...mariti: Phryxei recalls the golden-fleeced ram which rescued Phrixus and Helle from their wicked step-mother Ino (see OCD² s.v. Athamas; cf. Apollod. 1.9.1, Ovid Ep. 6.104 'aurea Phrixeae terga revellit ovis', Met. 7.8 'Phrixeae...vellera'). Not only did this ram supply fleece when alive, but the fleece, even if not actually golden, was also of good quality.

Maritus is commonly used of male animals, and especially those kept for breeding: OLD s.v. maritus^m S2. This ram may have been useful for more than its wool.

2 hoc meruit tunicam qui tibi, saeve, dedit?: saeve T: saepe B-C⁴. The vocative saeve accords with the 2nd person singular secuisti and is therefore adopted by editors. Saepe is not unattractive, however, given this epigram's connection with idiocy: the pentameter would then suggest that slaughtering this productive ram was as foolish as killing the

goose that laid the golden egg (Aesop's fable was actually about greed, not stupidity (Aesopica 87 Perry), but the two flaws can often be associated).

14.212 A dwarf

If you were to look at this man's head alone, you would believe him a Hector. If you were to see him standing, you would think him an Astyanax.

Friedländer notes (p.67 n.1) that this epigram appears amongst the Christian and medieval poems in a 10th Century MS in the Leipziger Stadtbibliothek: testimony to M's popularity.

le.: Following C², Lindsay prints pumilius (<pomilius Q et fort. B²; cf. Mart. 14.197.le. pomiliae B²). This form apparently does not find support outside Mart. 14 and the inferior MSS of Suetonius at Aug. 83 (describing Augustus' abhorrence of physical deformity). Heraeus, followed by Shackleton Bailey, therefore adopts Schneidewin's pumilus; cf. pumillus, T. Schneidewin's conjecture rings true; for pumilus, cf. also Stat. Sily. 1.6.57. Pumilus is used adjectivally at Mart. 14.197.le. mulae pumilae. For the form pumilio, see at Mart. 14.213.2 below.

Augustus' dislike of physical oddities was not generally shared. For the fascination dwarves held for the Romans, see above at Mart. 14.197.le. This fascination possibly accounts for the frequent representation of dwarves in art (see below and Howell at Mart. 1.43.10). Dwarves continued to interest painters long after the Roman period. Mart. 14.212 perhaps calls to mind Velázquez' portrait 'The

dwarf of Sebastian de Morra' (c. 1644, oil on canvas, 107 x 82 centimetres, Prado Museum, Madrid): the painting shows a dwarf whose child-sized body contrasts with an adult face, bearded, dignified and full of experience, and a gaze direct and very piercing. Whereas Velázquez' treatment is sympathetic, however, M's is not particularly (see at Hectora, line 1 below).

The dwarves of this epigram and Mart. 14.213 would have served as gladiators (note Mart. 14.213's concern with armour and see below at Hectora, line 1). Dwarf gladiators were fairly common: we know that Domitian, for instance, staged gladiatorial combats between dwarves and women - Dio 67.8.4: πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας νύκτωρ ἐποίει, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ νάνους καὶ γυναικας συνέβαλλε; cf. Stat. Silv. 1.6.57 ff. and see Citroni at Mart. 1.43.10. A wall painting survives from Herculaneum depicting a bout between dwarves: see W. Helbig, Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens, Leipzig 1868, no. 1536. For slave entertainers given as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.201-223 n. above.

1 Hectora: i.e. a great warrior. It is Hector's prayer at Homer Il. 6.476 ff. that Astyanax, then a small child terrified by his father's imposing head-gear, should nevertheless grow up to be an even greater fighter. M. has baby Astyanax' unwarrior-like behaviour very much in mind when contrasting with some irony here the adult features of this fighting dwarf with his child-sized limbs.

2 stantem: One's full stature is only fully discernible when standing, as was appreciated by Ovid: 'si brevis es, sedeas, ne stans videare sedere' (Ars 3.263).

14.212 A small shield

This, which is often accustomed to be beaten but to win seldom, will be a small shield to you, but the large shield of a dwarf.

le. parma: The parma (πάρμη) or clipeus was usually a round shield (but see below). Polybius, 6.22.2, gives a description. It was carried by cavalry and light infantry and used by the Thracian class of gladiator. Because of the comparative smallness of their shields, Thracians were less successful than other gladiatorial classes (cf. line 1) and their following was consequently small; cf. Mart. 9.68.7-8 'mitior in magno clamor furit amphitheatro, / vincenti parmae cum sua turba favet' with the Loeb ad loc. While Titus liked Thracians, Domitian favoured scutarii, those gladiator classes armed with a full length shield (scutum; cf. line 2. The scutum and clipeus are contrasted at Livy 8.8.3). For Imperial preferences as to gladiator types, see Balsdon LL. p.299, Carcopino p.263. Thracians and scutarii might well have been matched (cf. Balsdon, Carcopino locc. cit.). M. is likely to have had in mind Domitian's taste in gladiators when writing this epigram.

The humour of this poem rests on a dwarf-gladiator's use of a small parma as a full length scutum. As square parmae did exist, this was feasible; see D-S II(1) p.1587 col. 1 s.v. gladiator [Georges Lafaye] and n. 4. For dwarf-gladiators, see at Mart. 14.212.le.: this shield is the cheap counterpart of a fighting midget. Mohler thinks that the gift might have been for a child (p.257 n.58). For such gifts, see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section D and at Mart. 14.19.2 above.

Detailed notes on the parma can be found in R.E., XVIII.4.1539.20 ff., esp. 1543.58 ff. See too D-S I(1) p.1256 col. 1 s.v. clipeus [E. Sagliol].

2: Pumilio occurs at Lucr. 4.1162 after which it is not found until the reign of Nero. It survives elsewhere in M. at 1.43.10. The use of the genitive following the possessive tibi, dependent on the same verb, combines balance with variation.

14.214 Boy comic actors

In this particular troupe, there will be no one who is 'The Hated'; but anyone you like can be the 'Double Deceiver'.

le. comoedi pueri Q: pueri comoedi C^a: comici puerilis comedi pueri T. Heraeus deduces that T's lemma is a corruption of comici pueri vel comoedi pueri. That T's puerilis arose from pueri vel is very plausible: vel is abbreviated as l, whence -lis is easy (cf. Ps. Acron. at Hor. Carm. 3.11.47: melis A for me vel). While the comoedus was a comic actor, comicus describes anything to do with comedy. QC^a aside, comoedus is therefore clearly the more appropriate of T's offerings. The combined evidence of TQ makes comoedi pueri more likely than C^a's reversal.

Comic actors would not have been cheap. For slave entertainers given as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.201-223 n.

1-2: The Μισούμενος and Δὺς ἑξαπατῶν were two of Menander's comedies, for which see A.W.Gomme and F.H.Sandbach, Menander, Oxford 1973, pp. 118-25 (Δὺς ἑξαπατῶν) and 24, 40, 436-64 (Μισούμενος). See too T.B.L.Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy,² Manchester 1970, pp. 184 ff. Regarding the Μισούμενος, see generally Gilbert Norwood, Greek Comedy, London 1931 pp.328 ff. The Δὺς ἑξαπατῶν gave rise to Plautus' Bacchides, and sufficient of it survives to make comparison possible: for discussion, see Webster op. cit. pp. 208-9.

The joke of M's epigram rests on these boys being not so much actors as potential catamites (for this meaning of puer, see Mart. 14.171.2 n. above). While all are desirable (hence none is μισούμενος), they are also all capable of double-crossing an ἐραστής.

To use Menandrian titles as M. does here may have been an epigrammatic commonplace; cf. A.P. 5.218.11-12 (Agathias) ἄλλ' ἔμπης τελέθει Μισούμενος· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγες/ Δύσκολος, οὐχ ὁρώων τὴν Περιχειρομένην.

M. refers to Menander's Thais at Mart. 14.187. For his use of Greek in the titles of such works, see Weinreich Studien p.162.

1 turba: Cf. Ovid Fast. 6.671 where this word survives of a group of musicians.

2: Concerning polysyllabic pentameter endings, see Mart. 14.58.2 n., 203.1-2 n. and Intro. 'Metre' above.

14.215 A fibula

Tell me simply, fibula, what you hold out to comic actors and lyre-players? 'That they fuck for more'.

le.: The fibula was a brooch-like pin. Although the gift accompanied by this epigram would doubtless have been used to fasten garments together, the epigram is actually concerned with another type of fibula. This was worn around or through the fore-skin to prevent sexual activity by making an erection too painful to sustain.

Sexual activity was generally considered detrimental to the voice (Courtney at Juv. 6.73; an exception to the common view was that of the Elder Pliny: Nat. 28.58), and infibulation was held by some as a

safeguard against vocal decay. It is because of the fibula's alleged rôle in vocal preservation that this gift is paired, as a cheap counterpart, with the comoedi pueri of Mart. 14.214 (note line 1 below: 'comoedis et citharoedis', and see ad loc.). In fact, Mart. 14.215 contests the efficacy of infibulation in preserving the voice: 'dic me simpliciter' (line 1) requests the 'real' reason for the practice, which is then explained.

In Mart. 7.82, it emerges that Menophilus too is infibulated for reasons other than protecting his voice:

Menophili penem tam grandis fibula vestit
ut sit comoedis omnibus una satis.
hunc ego credideram (nam saepe lavamur in unum)
sollicitum voci parcere, Flacce, suae:
dum ludit media populo spectante palaestra,
delapsa est misero fibula: verpus erat.

General studies of infibulation include R.E. IX.2543.61 ff. s.v. infibulatio [Jüthner], RLAC I pp.42-3 s.v. Abstinenz [Th.Hopfner], E.J.Dingwall, Male Infibulation, London 1925.

1 comoedis et citharoedis: Both comoedi and citharoedi would have been singers with voices to preserve. Such performers were avidly pursued by women, however (cf. Juv. 6.72, 379 ff.; see Balson LL. p.283, Friedländer SG. 1 p.247), possibly as a result of their supposed chastity: what is difficult to obtain is always preferable. This sexual attraction underpins the epigram's punch-line, just as sex underpins the joke in Mart. 14.214: see below.

Another polysyllabic hexameter ending at Mart. 14.128.

2 quid praestas?: The thought of infibulation is unattractive. Performers must therefore have derived something more rewarding than the mere insurance of their voices, or so the question supposes.

carius ut futuant: The true reason for performers' infibulation is now given, that it was to raise the price on their sexual services. Women might have had to pay for the fibula's removal as well as for intercourse; cf. Juv. 6.73 'solvitur his (feminis) magno comoedi fibula'. Alternatively, the opinion might have been held that a male newly released from infibulation performed better than one not previously restrained (compare Kay at Mart. 11.75.3). Such a male could therefore command a higher fee.

Futuo is the 'basic obscenity for the male part in sexual intercourse with a woman': see the detailed discussion by Adams, pp. 118-122. For obscenity in M., see at Mart. 14.69 above.

On the correspondence of ictus and stress at ut, see Intro. 'Metre' above. This gives futuant particular emphasis.

14.216-218:

Schneidewin's numbering, preserved by the Loeb and Duff, is wrong, and Lindsay is correct in his rearrangement: an expensive gift is needed after the cheap fibula (Mart. 14.215) and so Mart. 14.216 auceps (= 218 [S]) must precede its cheap counterpart, the accipiter (Mart. 14.217 = 216 [S]). The opsonator (Mart. 14.218 = 217 [S]) is clearly the expensive partner of Mart. 14.219 cor bubulum. The disturbance in the sequence of epigrams probably resulted from a scribe's omitting Mart. 14.216 auceps and, upon realising his mistake, inserting it later.

14.216 A fowler

Not only by rods is the bird deceived but also by song while the cunning rod extends in the silent hand.

le. auceps: Birds were eaten regardless of species in the ancient world (Pollard p.104) and a slave skilled in fowling was a useful commodity; for the expensive gift of slaves as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.201-223 n. above. More on the skill of the auceps below.

The methods of catching birds were many: see Pollard pp. 104 ff., Blümner Priv. pp. 525 ff. Regularly employed in one way or another was bird lime, a substance made from mistletoe and described by Pliny, Nat. 16.248. This epigram describes one of the most common bird-catching techniques, in which lime-coated rods were used by skilled fowlers to snare birds perching on branches (see further at line 2 below). To encourage birds to settle in the branches of a certain tree in particular, the fowler might imitate bird calls, as is perhaps the case here (see line 1). Real birds could otherwise be used as decoys, who were tied or even blinded to prevent their escape (Pollard pp.104-5). Use of decoys is described at Opp. Hal. 4.120, at which see A.W.Mair's note (Loeb).

Although skilled fowlers were costly, fowling was regarded, like fishing, as a lesser form of hunting, a pleasant leisurely activity in contrast to the chase: Ovid Rem. 207-8, Opp. Cyn. 1.47 ff.:

τριχθαδίην θήρην θεὸς ὤπασεν ἀνθρώποισιν,
 ἡερίην χθονίην τε καὶ εἰναλίην ἐρατεινὴν·
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἴσος ἀσθλος ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἴσα τέτυχται,
 ἰχθὺν ἀσπαίροντα βυθῶν ἀπομηρύσασθαι
 καὶ ταναοὺς ὄρνιθας ἀπ' ἡέρος εἰρύσασθαι,
 ἢ θηρσὶν φονίοισιν ἐν οὖρεσι δηρίσασθαι.

Even so, fowling is often mentioned along with other forms of hunting:

Varro groups 'aucupes venatores piscatores' together (R. 3.3.4); cf. Cic. Fin. 2.23, Pliny Nat. 8.44.

For a review of ancient writings on fowling, see Mair's introduction to the Loeb Oppian, p.xxxv f. On fowling in general, see D-S V p.693 col. 1 ff. s.v. venatio [Georges Lafayel].

1 non tantum calamis sed cantu fallitur ales: Zeugma. The calamus was the rod used by fowlers to catch roosting birds and was not used for deception, as is the bird-song, whether mimicked by the fowler or provided by decoys.

As well as by singing (cf. Dionys. de Au. 3.1), birds could be duped by flute-playing: Dion. Cato 1.27.2 (4th Century?) 'fistula dulce canit, volucrem cum decipit auceps'.

The contrast marked by 'non...sed...' is reinforced by the internal rhyme of tantum and cantu.

2 callida dum tacita crescit harundo manu: Cf. V.Fl. 6.260 ff.:

qualem populeae fidentem nexibus umbrae
siquis avem summi deducat ab aere rami,
ante manu tacita cui plurima crevit harundo;
illa dolis viscoque super correpta sequaci
implorat ramos atque inrita concitat alas.

Also Sil. 7.674 ff.:

ut, qui viscata populatur harundine lucos,
dum nemoris celsi procera cacumina sensim
substructa certat tacitus contingere meta,
sublimem calamo sequitur crescente volucrem.

Bird rods could be connected to others, as are the parts of modern fishing rods, to give extra reach; in addition to the above passages, cf. Mart. 9.54.3-4 'aut crescente levis traheretur harundine praeda, /

pinguis et implicitas virga teneret avis', Bion 4.5 (ἰξευτὰς) τὼς
καλάμῳς ἅμα πάντα ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι συνάπτων, Petr. 109.7 'textis
harundinibus'; see J. Mesk, BPhW 7(1908), pp. 221-4.

References to fowlers' rods are collected by Mair in the Loeb Oppian,
p. 9.

Callida...harundo picks up fallitur. Callidus is transferred from the
fowler to his rod: the considerable stealth needed to catch birds is
easily imagined. The auceps at Petr. 109.7 is not called a
'peritus...artifex' for nothing.

Dum suggests that not only does the singing in line 1 lure the birds
to begin with, but it also provides cover while the auceps manoeuvres.

14.217 A hawk

He was a brigand among birds: slave now of the fowler, the same takes
a hold on birds and grieves that they are not caught for his own
benefit.

ie.: Accipiter is used generally of any species of hawk.

When used by Greek and Roman fowlers, hawks do not seem usually to
have caught smaller birds on the wing. Rather, they would force these
smaller birds out of the air so that the fowlers could catch them using
rods and lime (as at Mart. 14.216 above); cf. Aristotle H.A. 620a32.
Alternatively, hawks might be placed by trees visited by smaller birds
who, paralysed with fear on seeing them, would be easy prey for the
fowler (see Dion. de Au. 3.5). Owls were used in a similar way (D'Arcy
Thompson Birds pp. 78-9). Details as to how one trained hawks for this
kind of hunting are scarce.

Clear references to true falconry in Europe, as practised later in

mediaeval times, are uncommon before Constantius, son of Constantine the Great (D'Arcy Thompson lists works referring to falconry in India: Birds p.116). Indeed, the elder Pliny regards as remarkable the use of free-flying birds for hunting (Nat. 10.23): 'in Thraciae parte super Amphipolim homines et accipitres societate quadam aucupantur; hi ex silvis et harundinetis excitant aves, illi supervolantes deprimunt rursus; captas aucupes dividunt cum his. traditum est missas in sublime ibi excipere eos, et cum sit tempus capturae, clangore ac volatus genere invitare ad occasionem'. Therefore, if this epigram of M. refers to true falconry as if to something well known and understood, it too is remarkable.

For a general survey of falconry, see Victor Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Haustierte revised O.Schrade and A.Engler, Berlin 1894, pp.362 ff.

Both the auceps and the accipiter caught birds, but the accipiter was cheaper than a slave (i.e. a human slave; note famulus, line 1). This is a poor man's gift.

1 praedo fuit volucrum: The Loeb translates 'He preyed once upon birds'. This suggests that, now that the hawk is 'famulus aucupis' (nunc contrasts with fuit), he no longer does so. Clearly this is wrong. He continues to prey on birds, but no longer for his own benefit. 'Praedo...volucrum' must be a kind of kenning for 'hawk', as is 'king of beasts' in English for 'lion': just as a captive lion would lose his claim to kingship, so a captive hawk could no longer be a brigand, but becomes a stooge.

The hawk was notorious for its antagonism and brutality towards other birds: Ovid Met. 11.344-5 'accipiter...in omnes/ saevit aves', and it

features regularly in similes describing unequal or ferocious attacks: cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 11.721 'quam facile accipiter...consequitur pennis...columbam' and Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.17, at which see N-H.

famulus nunc aucupis: For the auceps, see on Mart. 14.216. Famulus is used e.g. of a horse at Apul. *Met.* 3.26, and, at Ovid *Met.* 3.229, of Actaeon's dogs. For other applications of the word to animals, see ThLL VI(1).267.26 ff. s.v. famulus [Jachmann], OLD s.v. famulus §1b.

2 decipit B^{AC}: decepit A^α (i.e. -cip-: Lindsay): et capit et Markland. Housman initially challenged decipit, i.e. 'deceived' (*Class. Pap.* pp.738-9), rightly asserting that hawks were not used as decoys. While agreeing that Markland's offering yields the correct sense, he settled on 'famulus nunc aucupis idem/ accipiter captas non sibi maeret aves'. But reading accipiter would, however, remove this epigram from the class of those framed like riddles whose answer the lemma supplies; see Mart. 14.2.3 n. above.

Heraeus takes decipere to mean capere. He refers e.g. to ThLL V(1).178.51 ff. s.v. decipio [Simbeck], which cites Mart. 13.68.1 'galbina decipitur calamis et retibus ales', [Sen.] *Oct.* 411-12 'calamo levi/ decipere volucres', Ovid *Met.* 3.587-8 'linoque solebat et hamis/ decipere...pisces'. To these, he adds Col. *RR.* 8.2.2 'per aucupem decipitur'. In all these places, however, the surreptitious use of equipment is mentioned or implied. Since the hawk would not have used the fowler's tools, Heraeus' parallels do not prove that decipere and capere are synonymous.

By the time he came to review Heraeus, Housman had changed his mind.

He no longer rejected decipit, but instead of accepting Heraeus' interpretation and supporting evidence, he preferred to cite Dion. de Au. 3.5 (describing the paralysing effect of hawks on smaller birds; see le. n. above).

Shackleton Bailey interprets decipit as meaning occupat, and refers, in his apparatus, to Quint. Decl. 388.4: 'venientis enim fluctus et consurgentis [antequam] freti facies ante terret quam decipit'. It is not clear to me what exactly he understands by occupat, however. His citation of Quintilian would suggest a meaning like 'take hold of' or 'grasp physically', but his apparatus note ('vide tamen Housman...nec non ann. meam ad Quint. Decl. min. 388, 14') would suggest that, in his view, he and Housman are saying the same thing. In this case, he must presumably understand for occupare here a meaning like 'hold the attention of' or 'engross'.

Taking decipit with Heraeus to mean capere (or with Shackleton Bailey to mean occupare, i.e. 'grasp physically') allows a clear contrast between it and captas: although the hawk does the work, it does not benefit from doing so. But, as shown above, the evidence for taking decipere as a synonym for capere is inconclusive. Also, to understand decipere to mean capere (or occupare to mean 'grasp physically') might suggest that M. refers here to true falconry, as practised in mediaeval times. As stated above (le. n.), references to true falconry at this period are in short supply.

Housman's interpretation, on the other hand (and Shackleton Bailey's, if he understands occupare to mean 'hold the attention of'), squares better with our knowledge of Roman falconry, while still allowing a contrast with captas. It is therefore possibly right.

Whatever the correct interpretation of decipere, however, editors seem now agreed, and rightly so, in rejecting emendation as a way forward, preferring to accept the not inconsiderable authority of the MSS (see Intro. 'Text' above).

14.218 A caterer

Say how many and at what cost you want to dine and add not another word: your dinner is ready.

le.: The opsonator was a caterer. The word comes from ὀψωνέω, whence M's orthography: Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.39 (Gilbert, Friedländer and Heraeus print obs-). ὀψωνέω refers normally to the purchase of fish: hence the pun at Petr. 39.13 'in piscibus (i.e. the star sign) obsonatores (sc. nascuntur). Nevertheless, the opsonator's function came to include all sorts of catering.

For references to the opsonator, see Marquardt Prl. p.145 n.5 and at Mart. 14.220.2 below. A good opsonator would have been highly valued, as is suggested by the existence of tombstone inscriptions; cf. e.g. CIL VI.8946 'dis/ manibus/ Taurionis/ obsonatoris/ Poppaea Aug.': this opsonator is a rich man's gift. For the presentation as apophoreta of slaves connected with dinners, see Mart. 14.201-223 n. above.

1 quotus et quanti: Vital information if a caterer is to do his job. Dinner numbers would differ, and one would not entertain inferior guests sumptuously. Sometimes different guests received different service at the same dinner: see Mart. 14.158.2 n. above.

1-2 nec unum/ addideris verbum: cena parata tibi est: Somewhat similar is the English idiom 'Just say the word'.

14.219 The heart of an ox

Since you, a poor pleader, write poems which bring in no money, take what heart you have.

le. cor bubulum: In comparison with the caterer of Mart. 14.218, edible ox-offal is a very cheap gift. No precise parallels of 'cor bubulum' survive, and Apicius gives no recipes; cf., however, Scrib. Largus 191 'lacte...bubulo' of milk.

1 pauper causidicus: The causidicus was a pleader rather than an orator. The word causidicus frequently has derogatory connotations, being applied to someone who took payment for an officium for which cash settlement, although legal, was considered unbecoming. For the contrast between the causidicus and the orator, see Tac. Dial. 1.1.

A pleader would not normally be poor; see Smith at Petr. 46.7, a reference which clearly suggests that the causidicus was financially successful. Regarding remuneration for advocacy, see Courtney at Juv. 7.106 'quid...praestent': it was not until Claudius that fees could be accepted (Tac. Ann. 11.5-7) and even then the limit was 10 000 sesterces. A similar limit was set by Nero (Suet. Nero 17); see too Pliny Ep. 5.9.4 with Sherwin White and Wilkins at Cic. de Or. 1.202.

This causidicus is poor because instead of pleading, he foolishly writes (bad?) poetry, poetry being notoriously unremunerative: cf. Ovid Ars 3.411 (also 405 ff.), Tac. Dial. 9.1 ff., Juv. 7 etc; see Saller p. 249.

2 accipe cor quod habes: A pun is at work: 'cor habere' means 'to have sense' (cf. Mart. 11.84.17; see OLD s.v. cor §3). M. is saying that if the causidicus does not have enough sense (cor) to plead cases instead of writing unprofitable poetry, he should accept what cor he does have, i.e. a present of cheap offal. Since M. himself rejects a legal career on several occasions (Mart. 1.17, 2.30.5-6, 90.10, 12.68.3), there is some irony here in his implicit advice not to write poetry.

14.220 A cook

Skill alone is not enough for a cook: I do not want his palate to be servile - a cook ought to have the taste of his master.

le. cocus: A cook, especially one with discerning taste, would be a rich man's gift. For slaves connected with dinners being given as apophoreta, see Mart. 14.201-223 n. above.

On the orthography of cocus, see Lindsay Orth. Mart. p.33. The MSS indicate that M. regularly used -cu- for -quu-, the principle exception being aequum (Mart. 1.114.5, 10.76.1). Coquus never appears.

1: As often, ars means τέχνη.

Servire is paradoxical: the cook is a slave, yet to serve his master effectively, he, or at any rate part of him, cannot be servile. This paradox is perhaps reinforced by nolo (line 2), appearing παρὰ προσδοσίαν.

For the palatum as organ of taste and discernment, cf. Cic. N.D. 2.49 '(Epicurus) dum palato quid sit optimum iudicat'. See generally OLD s.v. palatum §2. It is picked up in this epigram by gulum (line 2): the Romans also regarded the throat as an organ of taste. Cf. Mart. 6.11.5-6

'tu Lucrina voras, me pascit aquosa peloris:/ non minus ingenua est et mihi, Marce, gula' and see OLD s.v. gula §2b.

2 cocus domini debet habere gulam: Cf. Sen. Ep. 47.8 'obsonatores, quibus dominici palati notitia subtilis est'. The juxtaposition of cocus and domini is calculated.

14.221 A roasting stand with spits

Let your grated roasting stand sweat with a rolled-up cutlet; let a foaming boar steam on the long spear.

1e. craticula cum veribus: The craticula appears to have been a kind of roasting-stand. The word is derived from κρατευτάι: see Paul ap. Fest. p.53M.; cf. Homer Il. 9.212 ff.:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἑμαράνθη,
ἄνθρακιήν στορέσας ὀβελοὺς ἐφύπερθε τάνυσσεν,
πάσσε δ' ἄλδος θείοιο, κρατευτάων ἐπαείρας.

References to it include Cato Agr. 13.1 'in torcularium in usu quod opus est...craticulas duas', Petr. 31.11 'tomacula ferventia super craticulam argenteam posita', 70.7, Marcellus Med. 8.101 'cocleas Africanas veras super spissam graticulam dispositas ponito et carbones acres adsidue suggerito, ut aequaliter conburantur', Apic. 7.4.2 quoted below. While the Petronius passages describe silver stands, that described here is probably a more workaday version, given that the gift is a poor man's (in contrast with Mart. 14.220 cocus), and that Trimalchio is unlikely to have had anything but the best.

For the veru or roasting spit, cf. Verg. A. 1.212, 5.103, Ovid Met. 6.646 with Bömer, Fast. 2.363, Pliny Nat. 30.88 (a wooden spit for

roasting lizards) and see OLD s.v. veru Sla.

Gilbert, Heraeus, the Budé and Shackleton Bailey are probably correct to prefer veribus, T(B²?), to verubus, Q, printed by Lindsay. Veribus is the spelling preferred by the contemporary Dessau 4914, and Heraeus notes that, with the exception of Ps.Palaem., GLK V.537.23, he has not seen verubus anywhere without there being doubt as to its correctness. C^a is no help in deciding the matter, preserving only craticula.

1 rara...craticula: para C^a, whence the Itali derive parva; but note Juv. 11.82 'rara...crate' (of a meat rack) and cf. Mart. 11.21.5 'rara...retia' (a bird net) with Kay ad loc.: 'rara refers to the interstitial vacuities of the net'. If the craticula was a roasting stand, spits placed across it would form a lattice.

curva...ofella: Ofellae were apparently cutlets; see Heraeus' apparatus, which refers to CGL s.vv. ψιλόπλευρον, ofella, ofla, armus (see too s.v. offa); cf. Mart. 10.48.15. Although not in themselves Martialian apophoreta, they feature as punning substitutes for two of the gifts named by the pittacia at Petr. 56.8-9. For comment, see Ullman p.355. Apic. 7.4 gives a variety of recipes for cooking ofellae. Note especially Apic. 7.4.2 'ofellas Apicianas: ofellas exossas, in rotundam complicas, ad furnum admoves. postea praeduras, levas et, ut humorem exspuant, in craticula igni lento exsiccabis, ita ne urantur'. They would have been eaten by those denied more sumptuous dishes; cf. Juv. 11.144 'et exiguae furtis imbutus ofellae'.

Consonant with the culinary standing of ofellae is the pork used in this epigram (note 'spumeus...aper', line 2). Its associations with the

Saturnalia aside (cf. Mart. 14.71 above and see Intro. 'Saturnalia' section B), pork accounted for a great deal of the meat eaten at Rome: cf. Juv. 11.82 with Courtney, Ovid Met. 8.648 with Hollis; see Coleman at Stat. Sily. 4.9.34-5, who cites André, Alimentation p.136. Unlike sheep, goats and cattle, pigs can be slaughtered without the loss of valuable commodities like milk and wool, and so their meat was comparatively cheap.

For pork cutlets, see Blümner Priv. p.174 n.13; cf. Varro R. 2.4.11.

The best explanation of curva is that of R.L.Dunbabin. He argues (CR 9(1935) p.10) that the cutlets 'were rolled up like beef olives and fastened with a skewer'; cf. Apic. 7.4.2 'in rotundam complicas'. That curvus meaning 'rolled up' does not survive elsewhere, even in poetry (ThLL IV.1549.40 ff. s.v. curvus, esp. 1550.27 ff. [Schwering]), does not necessarily mean that Dunbabin is wrong: for rare usages and hapax legomena in Mart. Book 14, see the appendix.

sudet: i.e. with dripping fat; cf. Apic.7.4.2 exspuant, exsiccabis. The word is naturally used thus, although parallels are elusive.

2 spumeus in longa cuspidē fumet aper: This clever line restates the hexameter in grandiose terms, humorously suggesting a wild boar hunt rather than the poor man's tamely sizzling pork cutlet: the cuspidē is properly a spear, but it is used here, in hyperbole, to refer to a spit (a usage, incidentally, unparalleled elsewhere: ThLL IV.1554.52 f. s.v. cuspidē [Schwering]). Spumeus is a regular epithet for wild boars; cf. Mart. 14.71.2 spumantes, q.v. ad loc. Here it recalls sudet. So, too, does fumet. Fumo is used of animals steaming and sweating with exertion

(see OLD s.v. fumo §2c), as would a boar when hunted, but it is also used of food newly cooked and steaming: see OLD s.v. fumo §2b.

14.222 A confectionery baker

That hand will construct for you a thousand sweet, shaped creations:
for him alone works the thrifty bee.

le. pistor dulciarius: Dulciarius of a pastry cook is very rare in classical Latin (ThLL V.2187.3 ff. s.v. dulciarius [Lackenbacher]). Cf., however, Apul. Met. 10.13 'pistor dulciarius qui...mellita concinnabat edulia'. From later Latin, note S.H.A. Elag. 27.3 and Veg. Mil. 1.7.

For pistor of a pastry cook, cf. Mart. 11.31.8, Petr. 60.4. According to Lucian Sat. 13, cooks and confectioners were the only people allowed to work at the Saturnalia. A skilled pastry cook like this one would not have come cheap. This is a rich man's gift. For the presentation as apophoreta of slaves connected with dinners, see Mart. 14.201-223 n. above.

On pastry-work in general, see J. Solomon 'Tracta: a versatile Roman pastry', Hermes 106(1978) pp. 539-566. Our knowledge is not great: although we know the names of a number of works on making and using pastry (Solomon p.540), the works themselves have not come down to us.

1 mille...dulces operum...figuras: This cook can make confectionary of any shape; no doubt his repertoire would have included the Priapus at Mart. 14.69.

M's use of opus here compares with those usages cited at OLD s.v. opus §9a-b. At Suet. Tib. 34.1, we find 'opera pistoria'.

Extruere apparently survives here only of a pastry cook's construction work: ThLL V.1940.53 f. s.v. extruo [K]. The word is commonly used of building on a grand scale: cf. Cic. Dom. 124 'ad caelum...extruit villam', Verg. A. 4.266-7 'pulchram...urbem/ extruis' and see L-S s.v. extruo §1B. This cook's creations are monumental.

2 huic uni parca laborat apis: Bees were traditionally hard-working - Pliny Nat. 11.14: 'exeunt ad opera et labores, nullusque, cum per caelum licuit, otio perit dies'. They worked normally to store up honey for communal use by the hive in winter (Verg. G. 4.156-7). Hence parca is an appropriate epithet. So good is this pastry cook, however, that, contrary to its normal practice, the bee here works generously to produce honey for his confectionery and for no other purpose. At any rate, if it does not, it should.

Bee-keeping was a popular and gentlemanly pursuit. In consequence, the habits of bees and their management are often treated in ancient literature; see e.g. Varro R. 3.16.1 ff., Col. RR. 9.2.1 ff.

14.223 Rich dishes

Arise. Already the baker is selling the boys their breakfast and the crested fowls of the dawn are sounding forth on all sides.

le. adipata: The adipatum was a kind of sweet cake, possibly fried in fat (adeps/ adipis); cf. A.L. 190.48 'nos (coqui) adipata damus', Cic. Or. 25 'itaque Caria et Phrygia et Mysia, quod minime politae minimeque elegantes sunt, asciverunt aptum suis auribus opimum quoddam et tamquam adipatae dictionis genus'. Adipata are also referred to at Juv. 6.631.

On the word adipatum, see Charisius GLK I.94.16 ff. In contrast to the baker of Mart. 14.222, these adipata are a cheap gift.

1 surgite: iam vendit pueris ientacula pistor: Surgo is usual of getting out of bed. Unwillingness to get up was as common in Roman life as it is in modern times, although early rising was perhaps more important then given the greater need to exploit daylight. In general, see Carcopino p.170.

Ovid Am. 1.13.13 ff. lists people who suffer from early rising. Especially relevant here are the school children of lines 17-18: 'tu (sc. Aurora) pueros somno fraudas tradisque magistris, / ut subeant tenerae verbera saeva manus'; for the school day's beginning at dawn, cf. also Mart. 9.68, 12.57.5, CGL 3.645 ff.; see Blümner Priv. p.318.

Presumably from ieiunus, ientacula is breakfast: Fest. 250M 'prandicula (cf. petit déjeuner) antiqui dicebant quae nunc ientacula', Suet Vit. 13.1. Most grown Romans did not bother much with breakfast. Mart. 13.31 speaks of cheese. The elder Pliny had '(cibum) levem et facilem' (Pliny Ep. 3.5.10, with Sherwin White). In general, see Carcopino p. 287.

Although adults frequently went without anything to eat in the morning, however, it was normal for school children to start the day with something: school ran without a break until noon (Carcopino p.120, Balsdon LL. p.99). If the children are already buying their breakfast en route to school (as do Italians today on their way to work), it is indeed time for lie-abed adults to be up.

Bakeries did not operate on any large scale in Rome until 171 B.C. (Pliny Nat. 18.107). For the development of the baking industry, see

Marquardt Prl. p.415 f. Bakers in M's day worked at night (Mart. 12.57.5), no doubt to cater for early risers.

2 cristatae sonant undique lucis aves: With this reference to cockerels, cf. Mart. 9.68.3 'nondum cristati rupere silentia galli'. The expression 'cristatae aves' is common: see OLD s.v. cristatus §1. For cock-crow, see OLD s.vv. gallicinium, gallus'.

Appendix:

1) Rare words/ usages and hapax legomena in the Apophoreta (obviously poetic usages are excluded)

amictorium - 14.149. le.
analecta - 14.82.2
audax - 14.94. le.
auriscalpium - 14.23. le.
bardocucullus - 14.128. le.
bascauda - 14.99. le., 1
Batrachomachia - 14.183. le.
boletar - 14.102. le.
callainus - 14.140.2
Chatticus - 14.26.1
chersos - 14.88.1
cicendela - 14.40. le.
claudio - 14.92.1
coccineus - 14.131. le.
concido - 14.150.1
copta - 14.70. le.
culpa - 14.173.2
curvus - 14.221.1
dentiscalpium - 14.22. le.
dulciarius - 14.222. le.
endromis - 14.126. le.
expulsare - 14.46.1
ferio - 14.94.2
fuscus - 14.62.1
galericulum - 14.50. le.
gausapinus - 14.145. le., 147. le.
Graecus - 14.58.2
graphiarium - 14.21. le.
lentiscum - 14.22.1
lintea - 14.139.1
mantela - 14.139. le.
mamillare - 14.66. le.
manuale - 14.84. le.
manus - 14.83.1
masturbator - 14.203.2
ministratorius - 14.105. le.
monaulos - 14.63.2
monobyblos - 14.189. le.
myxos - 14.41.2
narthecium - 14.78. le., 1
nimbus - 14.112. le.
paganicus - 14.45. le., 1
palma - 14.82.1
panaca - 14.100. le.
parazonium - 14.32. le.
pavoninus - 14.67. le., 85. le. (two different meanings)
pellis - 14.184.2, 190.1
plorator - 14.54.1
polymyxos - 14.41. le.

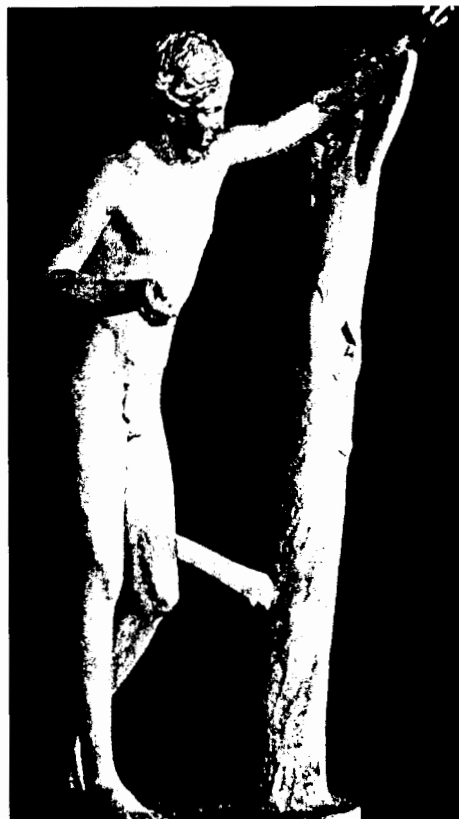
pumilus - 14.197. le.
puncta - 14.92.1
quiquiplices - 14.4. le., 2
quinquepedal - 14.92. le.
rhinoceros - 14.52. le., 53.2
Salo - 14.33.2
scalptorium - 14.83. le.
scribo - 14.87.1
semicinctum - 14.153. le.
signatus - 14.79.2
tessera - 14.17.1
tetricus - 14.81.2
trigonalis - 14.46. le.
trilix - 14.143.1
ut minimum - 14.97.2
vertragus - 14.200. le., 1
vervecinus - 14.211. le.

14.4. le., 2 - quiquiplices
14.17.1 - tessera
14.21. le. - graphisrium
14.22. le. - dentiscalpium
14.22.1 - lentiscum
14.23. le. - auriscalpium
14.26.1 - Chatticus
14.32. le. - parazonium
14.33.2 - Salo
14.40. le. - cicendela
14.41. le. - polymyxos
14.41.2 - myxos
14.45. le., 1 - paganicus
14.46. le. - trigonalis
14.46.1 - expulsare
14.50. le. - galericulum
14.52. le., 53.2 - rhinoceros
14.54.1 - plorator
14.58.2 - Graecus
14.62.1 - fuscus
14.63.2 - monaulos
14.66. le. - manillare
14.67. le. (cf. 85. le.) - pavoninus
14.70. le. - copta
14.78. le., 1 - narthecium
14.79.2 - signatus
14.81.2 - tetricus
14.82.1 - palma
14.82.2 - anslecta
14.83. le. - scalptorium
14.83.1 - manus
14.84. le. - manuale
14.85. le. (cf. 67. le.) - pavoninus
14.87.1 - scribo
14.88.1 - chersos
14.92. le. - quinquepedal

- 14.92.1 - puncta
- 14.92.1 - claudio
- 14.94.1e. - audax
- 14.94.2 - ferio
- 14.97.2 - ut minimum
- 14.99.1e., 1 - bascauda
- 14.100.1e. - panaca
- 14.102.1e. - boletar
- 14.105.1e. - ministratorius
- 14.112.1e. - nimbus
- 14.126.1e. - endromis
- 14.128.1e. - bardocucullus
- 14.131.1e. coccineus
- 14.139.1e. mantele
- 14.139.1 - lintea
- 14.140.2 - callainus
- 14.143.1 - trilix
- 14.145.1e. - gausapinus
- 14.147.1e. - gausapinus
- 14.149.1e. - amictorium
- 14.153.1e. - semicinctium
- 14.160.1 - concido
- 14.173.2 - culpa
- 14.183.1e. - Batrachomachia
- 14.184.2 - pellis
- 14.189.1e. - monobyblos
- 14.190.1 - pellis
- 14.197.1e. - pumilus
- 14.200.1e. - vertragus
- 14.203.2 - masturbator
- 14.211.1e. - vervecinus
- 14.221.1 - curvus
- 14.222.1e. - dulciarius

ii) Illustrations (my thanks to Dr John Spencer and Mr A.T.Jones for technical assistance).

14.172] G.M.A.Richter, The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks,⁴ New Haven and London 1970, figs (clockwise) 720 (coin of Nikopolis; enlarged, from a cast; BM), 722 (bronze statuette; Villa Albani, Rome), 723 (from the Vatican, Rome).



14.1761 Terracotta mask of a German; Roman, prob. made in Italy, 2nd Century AD; BM (Blacas Collection) GR 1867.5-8.644 (photograph: British Museum ©).



111) Concordances

A) Equivalent numbering

Leary	Lindsay	Heraeus/ Sh. B.	Schndwn
18 <u>calc.</u>	18 <u>calc.</u>	18 <u>calc.</u>	18 <u>nuces</u>
19 <u>nuces</u>	19 <u>nuces</u>	19 <u>nuces</u>	19 <u>theca lib.</u>
20 <u>theca lib.</u>	20 <u>theca lib.</u>	20 <u>theca lib.</u>	20 <u>calc.</u>
52 <u>rhin.</u>	52 <u>gut. corn.</u>	52 <u>gut. corn.</u>	52 <u>gut. corn.</u>
53 <u>gut. corn.</u>	53 <u>rhin.</u>	53 <u>rhin.</u>	53 <u>rhin.</u>
63 <u>tibiae</u>	63 <u>tibiae</u>	63 <u>tibiae</u>	63 <u>fistula</u>
64 <u>fistula</u>	64 <u>fistula</u>	64 <u>fistula</u>	64 <u>tibiae</u>
68 <u>musc. bub.</u>	68 <u>musc. bub.</u>	68 <u>musc. bub.</u>	68 <u>copt. Rhod.</u>
69 <u>Priap. sil.</u>	69 <u>copt. Rhod.</u>	69 <u>copt. Rhod.</u>	69 <u>Priap. sil.</u>
70 <u>copt. Rhod.</u>	70 <u>Priap. sil.</u>	70 <u>Priap. sil.</u>	70 <u>porcus</u>
71 <u>porcus</u>	71 <u>porcus</u>	71 <u>porcus</u>	71 <u>musc. bub.</u>
101 <u>cal. Surr.</u>	101 <u>bolet.</u>	101 <u>bolet.</u>	101 <u>bolet.</u>
102 <u>bolet.</u>	102 <u>cal. Surr.</u>	102 <u>cal. Surr.</u>	102 <u>cal. Surr.</u>
108 <u>cal. gemm.</u>	108 <u>cal. Sag.</u>	108 <u>cal. Sag.</u>	108 <u>cal. Sag.</u>
109 <u>cal. Sag.</u>	109 <u>cal. gemm.</u>	109 <u>cal. gemm.</u>	109 <u>cal. gemm.</u>
135 <u>lac. alb.</u>	135 <u>lac. alb.</u>	135 <u>lac. alb.</u>	135 <u>cenat.</u>
136 <u>cenat.</u>	136 <u>cenat.</u>	136 <u>cenat.</u>	136 <u>laena</u>
137 <u>focale.</u>	137 <u>focale.</u>	137 <u>focale.</u>	137 <u>lac. alb.</u>
138 <u>laena</u>	138 <u>laena</u>	138 <u>laena</u>	138 <u>mantele</u>
139 <u>mantele</u>	139 <u>mantele</u>	139 <u>mantele</u>	139 <u>cuc. Lib.</u>
140 <u>cuc. Lib.</u>	140 <u>cuc. Lib.</u>	140 <u>cuc. Lib.</u>	140 <u>ud. Cilic.</u>
141 <u>ud. Cilic.</u>	141 <u>ud. Cilic.</u>	141 <u>ud. Cilic.</u>	141 <u>synth.</u>
142 <u>synth.</u>	142 <u>synth.</u>	142 <u>synth.</u>	142 <u>focale</u>
216 <u>auceps</u>	216 <u>auceps</u>	216 <u>auceps</u>	216 <u>accipiter</u>
217 <u>accipiter</u>	217 <u>accipiter</u>	217 <u>accipiter</u>	217 <u>opsonator</u>
218 <u>opsonator</u>	218 <u>opsonator</u>	218 <u>opsonator</u>	218 <u>auceps</u>

B) Equivalent lemmata

Leary	Lindsay	Heraeus/ Sh. B.	Schndwn
18 <u>calc.</u>	18 <u>calc.</u>	18 <u>calc.</u>	20 <u>calc.</u>
19 <u>nucēs</u>	19 <u>nucēs</u>	19 <u>nucēs</u>	18 <u>nucēs</u>
20 <u>theca lib.</u>	20 <u>theca lib.</u>	20 <u>theca lib.</u>	19 <u>theca lib.</u>
52 <u>rhin.</u>	53 <u>rhin.</u>	53 <u>rhin.</u>	53 <u>rhin.</u>
53 <u>gut. corn.</u>	52 <u>gut. corn.</u>	52 <u>gut. corn.</u>	52 <u>gut. corn.</u>
63 <u>tibiae</u>	63 <u>tibiae</u>	63 <u>tibiae</u>	64 <u>tibiae</u>
64 <u>fistula</u>	64 <u>fistula</u>	64 <u>fistula</u>	63 <u>fistula</u>
68 <u>musc. bub.</u>	68 <u>musc. bub.</u>	68 <u>musc. bub.</u>	71 <u>musc. bub.</u>
69 <u>Priap. sil.</u>	70 <u>Priap. sil.</u>	70 <u>Priap. sil.</u>	69 <u>Priap. sil.</u>
70 <u>copt. Rhod.</u>	69 <u>copt. Rhod.</u>	69 <u>copt. Rhod.</u>	68 <u>copt. Rhod.</u>
71 <u>porcus</u>	71 <u>porcus</u>	71 <u>porcus</u>	70 <u>porcus</u>
101 <u>cal. Surr.</u>	102 <u>cal. Surr.</u>	102 <u>cal. Surr.</u>	102 <u>cal. Surr.</u>
102 <u>bolet.</u>	101 <u>bolet.</u>	101 <u>bolet.</u>	101 <u>bolet.</u>
108 <u>cal. gemm.</u>	109 <u>cal. gemm.</u>	109 <u>cal. gemm.</u>	109 <u>cal. gemm.</u>
109 <u>cal. Sag.</u>	108 <u>cal. Sag.</u>	108 <u>cal. Sag.</u>	108 <u>cal. Sag.</u>
135 <u>lac. alb.</u>	135 <u>lac. alb.</u>	135 <u>lac. alb.</u>	137 <u>lac. alb.</u>
136 <u>cenat.</u>	136 <u>cenat.</u>	136 <u>cenat.</u>	135 <u>cenat.</u>
137 <u>focale</u>	137 <u>focale</u>	137 <u>focale</u>	142 <u>focale</u>
138 <u>laena</u>	138 <u>laena</u>	138 <u>laena</u>	136 <u>laena</u>
139 <u>mantele</u>	139 <u>mantele</u>	139 <u>mantele</u>	138 <u>mantele</u>
140 <u>cuc. lib.</u>	140 <u>cuc. Lib.</u>	140 <u>cuc. Lib.</u>	139 <u>cuc. Lib.</u>
141 <u>ud. Cilic.</u>	141 <u>ud. Cilic.</u>	141 <u>ud. Cilic.</u>	140 <u>ud. Cilic.</u>
142 <u>synth.</u>	142 <u>synth.</u>	142 <u>synth.</u>	141 <u>synth.</u>
216 <u>auceps</u>	216 <u>auceps</u>	216 <u>auceps</u>	218 <u>auceps</u>
217 <u>accipiter</u>	217 <u>accipiter</u>	217 <u>accipiter</u>	216 <u>accipiter</u>
218 <u>opsonator</u>	218 <u>opsonator</u>	218 <u>opsonator</u>	217 <u>opsonator</u>